NOTES

ON THE

PARADISE LOST

OF

JOHN MILTON,

BY

NEWTON,
BENTLEY,
RICHARDSON,
HUME,

ADDISON,
WARBURTON,
THYER,
PEARCE, &c.

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NOTES
ON
MILTON's PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

1. *Of Man's first disobedience*, &c.] MILTON has proposed the subject of his poem in the following verses. These lines are perhaps as plain, simple, and unadorned as any of the whole poem, in which particular the author has conformed himself to the example of Homer and the precept of Horace. His invocation to a work, which turns in a great measure upon the creation of the world, is very properly made to the Muse who inspired Moses in those books from whence our author drew his subject, and to the Holy Spirit, who is therein represented as operating after a particular manner in the first production of nature. This whole exordium rises very happily into noble language and sentiment, as I think the transition to the fable is exquisitely beautiful and natural. *Addison.*

Besides the plainness and simplicity of these lines, there is a farther beauty in the variety of the numbers, which are so artfully varied, that the pause falls upon a different syllable in almost every line, as it may perceived by distinguishing the verses thus:

Of Man's first disobedience,—and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree,—whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world,—and all our woe,
With loss of Eden,—till one greater Man
Restore us,—and regain the blissful seat,
Sing heav'nly Muse,—

Pope, in a letter to Mr. Walsh, containing some critical observations on English versification, remarks, that in any smooth English verse of ten syllables, there is naturally a pause at the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable, and upon the judicious change and management of these depends the variety of versification. But Milton, a master of greater melody than any other English poet, varies the pause according to the sense, through all the ten syllables, and scarcely ever suffers it to rest upon the same syllable in more than two, and seldom in so many verses together. Here it is upon the first syllable of the verse.

——others on the grass
Couch'd—and now fill'd with pasture gazing sat. iv. 351.
——such as in their souls infix'd
Plagues;—they astonish'd all resistance lost. vi. 838.

Upon the second,

——these to their nests
Were slunk,—all but the wakeful nightingale; iv. 602.
—Down thither prone in flight
He speeds,—and through the vast ethereal sky. v. 267.

Upon the third,

———what in me is dark
Illumine,—what is low raise and support; i. 23.
——as the wakeful bird
Sings darkling,—and in shadiest covert hid. iii. 39.

Upon the fourth,

——on he led his radiant files,
Dazzling the moon;—these to the bow'r direct iv. 798.
——at his right hand victory
Sat eagle-wing'd;—beside him hung his bow, vi. 763.

Upon the fifth,

——bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gambol'd before them;—th' unwieldy elephant iv. 345.
——and in the air
Made horrid circles;—two broad suns their shields vi. 305.

Upon the sixth,

His stature reach'd the sky,—and on his crest iv. 988.
Girt with omnipotence—with radiance crown'd. vii. 194.

Upon the seventh,

Majestic though in ruin;—sage he stood ii. 305.

Birds on the branches warbling;—all things smil'd viii. 265.

Upon the eighth,

Hung on his shoulders like the moon,—whose orb i. 287.
A fairer person lost not Heav'n;—he seem'd ii. 110.

Upon the ninth,

Jehovah thund'ring out of Sion,—thron'd
Between the Cherubim i. 36.
And bush with frizled hair implicit;—last
Rose as in dance the stately trees, vii. 323.

And here upon the end,

——thou that day
Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare—iii. 393.
Attended with ten thousand thousand saints—vi. 767.

And sometimes to give the greater variety to the verse, there are two or more pauses in the same line; as

——on the ground
Outstretch'd he lay,—on the cold ground,—and oft
Curs'd his creation x. 851.
And swims,—or sinks—or wades, or creeps,—or flies:—ii. 950.
Exhausted,—spiritless,—afflicted, fall'n.—vi. 852.

There are other excellencies in Milton's versification. The English heroic verse approaches nearest to the Iambic of the Ancients, of which it wants only a foot; but then it is to be measur'd by the tone and accent, as well as by the time and quantity. An Iambic foot is one short and one long syllable, and six such feet constitute an Iambic verse; but the Ancients seldom made use of the pure Iambic, especially in works of any considerable length, but oftener of the mix'd Iambic, that is, with a proper intermixture of other measures; and of these perhaps Milton has express'd as happy a variety as any poet whatever, or indeed as the nature of a verse will admit, that consists only of five feet, and ten syllables for the most part. Sometimes he gives us almost pure Iambics, as in i. ver. 3, 4.

Sometimes he intermixes the Trochee or foot of one long and one short syllable, as in v. 49.

Sometimes the Spondee or foot of two long syllables, as in v. 21.

Sometimes the Pyrrichius or foot of two short syllables, as in v. 64.

Sometimes the Dactyle or foot of one long and two short syllables, as v. 45.

Sometimes the Anapæst or foot of two short and one long syllable, as in v. 87.

Sometimes the Tribrachus or foot of three short syllables, as in v. 709.

Sometimes there is variety of these measures in the same verse, and seldom or never the same measures in two verses together. These changes are not only contrived for the greater variety, but to make the sound more expressive of the sense. So that Milton has abundantly exemplified in his own practice the rules laid down by himself in his preface, his versification having all the requisites of "true musical delight, which," as he says, "consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another."

4. *With Loss of Eden,*] Is meant no more than *loss of Paradise* which was planted in Eden, which word *Eden* signifies delight or pleasure, and the country is supposed to be the same that was afterwards called Mesopotamia; particularly by our author in iv. 210, &c. Here the whole is put for a part, as sometimes a part for the whole, by a figure called Synecdoche.

4. ——*till one greater Man*
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,] As it is a *greater Man*, so it is a happier Paradise which our Saviour promised to the penitent thief, Luke xxiii. 43. *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.* But Milton had a notion that after the conflagration and the general judgment, the whole Earth would be made a Paradise, xii. 463.

The author, speaking here of *regaining the blissful seat*, had at this time formed some design of his poem of *Paradise Regained*. But however that be, in the beginning of that poem he manifestly alludes to the beginning of this, and there makes Paradise to be Regained by our Saviour's foiling the Tempter in the wilderness.

I who ere-while the happy garden sung,
By one Man's disobedience lost, Now sing

Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,
By one Man's firm obedience fully try'd—
And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

6.——*that on the secret top*
Of Oreb, or of Sinai,—

Bentley says that Milton dictated *sacred top*. Horeb is called the *mountain of God*, 1 Kings, xix. 8, and the ground of it is said in Exod. iii. 5, to be *holy*. But let the mountain be never so *holy*, yet according to the rules of good poetry, when Milton speaks of the *top* of the mountain, he should give us an epithet peculiar to the *top* only, and not to the whole mountain. The epithet *secret* will not do here, because the top of this mountain is visible several leagues off. But Sinai and Horeb are the same mountain, with two several eminences, the higher of them called Sinai: and of Sinai Josephus in his Jewish Antiquit. Book iii. chap. 5, says, that "it is so high, that the top of it cannot be seen without straining the eyes." In this sense therefore, the top of it may well be said to be *secret*. In Exod. xvii. it is said that the Israelites, when encamped at the foot of Horeb, could find no water; from whence Dr. Bentley concludes, that Horeb had no clouds or mists about its *top*; and that therefore *secret top* cannot be here meant as implying that high mountains against rainy weather have their heads surrounded with mists. I never thought that any reader of Milton would have understood *secret top* in this sense. The words *of Horeb or of Sinai* imply a doubt of the poet, which name was properest to be given to that mountain, on the top of which Moses received his inspiration; because Horeb and Sinai are used for one another in Scripture, as may be seen by comparing Exod. iii. 1. with Acts vii. 30. Now it is well known from Exod. xix. 16. Ecclus. xlv. 5. and other places of Scripture, that when God gave his laws to Moses on the top of Sinai, it was covered with *clouds*, *dark clouds*, and *thick smoke*; it was therefore *secret* at that time in a peculiar sense: and the same thing seems intended by the epithet which our poet uses upon the very same occasion in xii. 227.

God from the mount of Sinai, whose *gray top*
Shall tremble, he descending, &c.

It appears from Scripture, that while Moses was with God in the mount, the people were not to come near it or touch it, till after a signal given, and then they were only to approach and not to ascend it, nor pass the bounds set for them, upon pain of death, Exod. xix. so that upon all accounts *secret* is the most proper epithet, that could have been chosen.

8. *That shepherd, who first, &c.*] For *Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law*, Exod. iii. 1. and he is very properly said to have *first taught the chosen seed*, being the most ancient writer among the Jews, and indeed the most ancient that is now extant in the world.

9. *In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth*] Alluding to the first words of Genesis.

11. *and Siloa's brook*] Siloa was a small river that flowed near the temple at Jerusalem. It is mentioned Isai. viii. 6. So that in effect he invokes the heavenly Muse, that inspired David and the prophets on mount Sion, and at Jerusalem, as well as Moses on mount Sinai.

15. *Above th Aonian mount,*] A poetical expression for soaring to a height above other poets. The mountains of Bœotia, anciently called Aonia, were the haunt of the Muses, and thus Virgil, Ecl. vi. 65; though afterwards that country was famous for the dulness of its inhabitants.

16. *Things unattempted yet in prose or rhime.*

It is evident that by *rhime* in this place is meant verse in general; but Milton thought it would sound too low and familiar to the ear to say *in prose or verse*, and therefore chose rather to say in *prose or rhime*. When he says *in prose or verse*, he adds an epithet to take off from the commonness of the expression, as in v. 150.

——— Such prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, *in prose or numerous verse.*

It is said that Milton took the first hint of this poem from an Italian tragedy called *Il Paradiso Perso*; and that he has borrowed largely from Masenius, a German Jesuit, and other modern authors; but it is all a pretence. His is an original, if ever there was one. His subject indeed of the fall of Man, together with the principal episodes, may be said to be as old as Scripture, but his manner of handling them is entirely new, with new illustrations and new beau-

+ cosa non detta in prosa mai, nè in rima
Ariosto. 1. 2.

ties of his own; and he may as justly boast of the novelty of his poem, as any of the ancient poets bestow that recommendation upon their works; as Lucretius i. 925; and Virg. Georg. iii. 3.

17. *And chiefly Thou, O Sp'irit,* &c.] Invoking the Muse is commonly a matter of mere form; but the Holy Ghost here invoked is too solemn a name to be used insignificantly: and besides, our author, in the beginning of Paradise Regained, scruples not to say to the same divine person,

——————Inspire,
As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute.

This address therefore is no mere formality. Yet some may think that he incurs a worse charge of enthusiasm, or even profaneness, in vouching inspiration for his performance: but the Scriptures represent inspiration as of a much larger extent than is commonly apprehended, teaching that *every good gift*, in naturals as well as in morals, *descendeth from the great Father of lights*. And an extraordinary skill ever in mechanical arts is there ascribed to the illumination of the Holy Ghost. Exod. xxxv. 31.

His widow was wont to say that he did really look upon himself as inspired, and his works are not without a spirit of enthusiasm. In the beginning of his 2d book of *The Reason of Church Government*, speaking of his design of writing a poem in the English language, he says, "It was not to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and and sends out his Seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases." p. 61.

19. *Instruct me, for Thou know'st*;] Theocrit. Idyl. xxii. 116.

21. *Dove-like satst brooding*] Alluding to Gen. i. 2. *the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters*; for the word that we translate *moved* signifies properly *brooded*, as a bird doth upon her eggs; and he says like a *dove* rather than any other bird, because the descent of the Holy Ghost is compared to a dove in Scripture, Luke iii. 22. As Milton studied the Scriptures in the original languages, his images and

expressions are oftener copied from them, than from our translation.

26. *And* justify *the ways of God to Men.*] A verse, which Pope has thought fit to borrow with some little variation, in the beginning of his Essay on Man,

But *vindicate* the ways of God to Man:

27. *Say first, for Heaven hides nothing from thy view,*
Nor the deep tract of Hell,—]The poets attribute a kind of omniscience to the Muse, and very rightly, as it enables them to speak of things which could not otherwise be supposed to come to their knowledge. Thus Homer, Iliad. ii. 485; and Virg. Æn. viii. 645.

Milton's Muse, being the Holy Spirit, must of course be omniscient. And the mention of *Heaven* and *Hell* is very proper in this place, as the scene of so great a part of the poem is laid sometimes in Hell, and sometimes in Heaven.

32. *For one restraint,*] The tree of knowledge forbidden.

33. *Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?*
Th' infernal Serpent;] An imitation of Homer, Iliad. i. 8. where the question is asked, and the answer returned much in the same manner.

38. ——*by whose aid aspiring*
To set himself in glory, above his peers,] Here Dr. Bentley objects, that Satan's crime was not his aiming *above his peers:* he was *in place high above them* before. But though this be true, yet Milton may be right here; for the force of the words seems, not that Satan *aspired to set himself above his peers*, but that he *aspired to set himself in glory*, &c. that is, in divine glory, in such glory as God and his Son were set in. Here was his crime; and this is what God charges him with in v. 725; vi. 88; vii. 140.

From these passages it appears that there is no occasion for Dr Bentley's alteration, which is this,

——————aspiring
To *place* and glory, above *the Son of God.* Pearce.

Besides the other methods which Milton has employed to diversify and improve his numbers, he takes the same liberties as Shakespear and others of our old poets, and in imitation of the Greeks and Latins often cuts off the vowel at the

end of a word, when the next word begins with a vowel; though he does not like the Greeks wholly drop the vowel, but still retains it in writing like the Latins. Another liberty, that he takes likewise, for the greater improvement and variety of his versification, is pronouncing the same word sometimes as two syllables, and sometimes as only one syllable or two short ones. We have frequent instances in *spirit*, *ruin*, *riot*, *rea on*, *highest*, and several other words.—But then these excellencies in Milton's verse are attended with this inconvenience, that his numbers seem embarrassed to such readers as know not, or know not readily, where such elision or abbreviation of vowels is to take place; and therefore for their sake we have taken care throughout this edition to mark such vowels as are to be cut off, and such as are to be contracted and abbreviated thus.'

45. *Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky,*] Hom. Iliad, i. 591.

Hurl'd headlong downward from th' ethereal height. Pope.

46. *With hideous ruin and combustion,*] *Ruin* is derived from *ruo*, and includes the idea of falling with violence and precipitation, and *combustion* is more than *flaming* in the foregoing verse, it is burning in a dreadful manner. So that he was not only hurl'd headlong flaming, but he was hurl'd headlong flaming *with hideous ruin and combustion*; and what occasion is there then for reading with Dr. Bentley *confusion* instead of *combustion?*

48. *In adamantine chains*] Æschylus Prometh. 6.

50. *Nine times*, &c.] The nine days astonishment in which the Angels lay intranced after their dreadful overthrow and fall from Heaven before they could recover either the use of thought or speech, is a noble *circumstance*, and very finely imagined. The division of Hell into seas of fire, and into firm ground impregnant with the same furious element, with that particular circumstance of the exclusion of *hope* from those infernal regions, are instances of the same great and fruitful invention. Addison.

63. ——*darkness visible*] Milton seems to have used these words to signify *gloom*; Absolute darkness is strictly speaking invisible; but where there is a gloom only, there is so much light remaining as serves to shew that there are objects,

66. Aspre. Dante iii. Lasciate &c. Orl. Fu. 1.8.23.
Iuvip. Prod. 676. —— ὅθ' οὔποι λειπέται βροτοῖς
ἔλπις.

and yet that those objects cannot be distinctly seen. *Pearce.*

Seneca has a like expression, speaking of the Grotta of Pousilypo, Senec. Epist. lvii. And Antonio de Solis, in his excellent History of Mexico, hath ventured on the same thought, when speaking of the place wherein Montezuma was wont to consult his Deities; "'Twas a large dark subterraneous vault, says he, where some dismal tapers afforded just light enough to see the obscurity." *Voltaire's* Essay on Epic Poetry, p. 44. Euripides too expresses himself in the same poetical manner. Bac. 510. Spenser also, Faery Queen, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 14.

A little glooming light, much like a shade.

Or after all, the author might perhaps take the hint from himself in his Il Penseroso,

Where glowing embers through the room
Teach light to counterfeit a gloom.

74. *As from the centre thrice to th' utmost pole.*] Thrice as far as it is from the centre of the earth (which is the centre of the world according to Milton's system, ix. 103. and x. 671.) to the pole of the world; for it is the pole of the universe, far beyond the pole of the earth, which is here called the *utmost pole* It is observable that Homer makes the seat of Hell as far beneath the deepest pit of earth, as the Heaven is above the earth; Virgil makes it *twice* as far; and Milton *thrice* as far.

Milton's whole description of hell as much exceeds theirs, as in this single circumstance of the depth of it.

81. *Beëlzebub.*] The lord of flies, an idol worshipped at Ecron, a city of the Philistines, 2 Kings i. 2. He is called *prince of the Devils*, Mat. xii. 24 therefore deservedly here made second to Satan himself. *Hume.*

82. *And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan,*] For the word *Satan* in Hebrew signifies an enemy: he is the enemy by way of eminence, the chief enemy of God and Man.

84. *If thou beest he; &c.*] The thoughts in the first speech and description of Satan, who is one of the principal actors in this poem, are wonderfully proper to give us a full idea of him. His pride, envy, and revenge, obstinacy, despair and impenitence, are all of them very artfully interwoven.

In short, his first speech is a complication of all those passions, which discover themselves separately in several other of his speeches in the poem. *Addison.*

The change and confusion of these enemies of God is most artfully expressed in the abruptness of the beginning of this speech: If thou art he, that Beëlzebub——He stops, and falls into a bitter reflection on their present condition, compared with that in which they lately were. He attempts again to open his mind; cannot proceed on what he intends to say, but returns to those sad thoughts; still doubting whether it is really his associate in the revolt, as now in misery and ruin; by that time he had expatiated on this (his heart was oppressed with it) he is assured to whom he speaks, and goes on to declare his proud unrelenting mind. *Richardson.*

84.——*But O how fall'n! how chang'd*
From him,] He imitates Isaiah and Virgil at the same time. Isa. xiv. 12. *How art thou fall'n*, &c. and Virgil's Æn. ii 274.

86. *Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine*
Myriads though bright!] Imitated from Homer, Odyss. vi. 110. where Diana excels all her nymphs in beauty, though all of them be beautiful. *Bentley.*

93. *He with his thunder:*] Satan disdains to utter the name of God, though he cannot but acknowledge his superiority. So again ver. 257.

94.——*yet not for those,*
Nor what the potent victor in his rage
Can else inflict, do I repent or change, &c.] Milton in this and other passages, where he is describing the fierce and unrelenting spirit of Satan, seems very plainly to have copied after the picture that Æschylus gives of Prometheus speaking of Jupiter. Prom. Vinct. 991.

98. *And high disdain*] This is a favourite expression of Spenser. Thus in the Faery Queen, B. i. Cant. i. St. 19.

His gall did grate for grief and *high disdain.*

This is the *alto sdegno* of the Italians, from whom no doubt he had it. *Thyer.*

105.——*What though the field be lost?*
All is not lost; &c.] This passage is an excellent im-

provement upon Satan's speech to the infernal Spirits in Tasso, Cant. 4. St. 15. but seems to be expressed from Fairfax his translation rather than from the original.

We lost the field, yet lost we not our heart.

109. *And what is else not to be overcome*;] Here should be no note of interrogation, but only a semi-colon. The words signify, and if any thing else (besides the particulars mentioned) is not to be overcome. *Pearce.*

110. *That glory*, &c.] *That* refers to what went before; his "unconquerable will and study of revenge," his "immortal hate, and courage never to submit or yield, and what besides is not to be overcome;" these Satan esteems his glory, and *that glory* he says God never should extort from him. And then begins a new sentence according to all the best editions, "To bow and sue for grace," &c.—that were low indeed, &c. *that* still referring to what went before; and by observing this punctuation, this whole passage, which has perplex'd and confounded so many readers and writers, is rendered plain and easy to be understood.

116.——*since by fate, &c.*] For Satan supposes the Angels to subsist by fate and necessity, and he represents them of an *empyreal*, that is, a *fiery* substance, as the Scripture itself doth; "He maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." Psal. civ. 4. Heb. i. 7.

124.——*the tyranny of Heaven.*] the poet speaking in his own person at ver. 42. of the supremacy of the Deity calls it "the throne and monarchy of God;" but here very artfully alters it to "the tyranny of Heaven." *Thyer.*

125. *So spake th' apostate Angel, though in pain,*
Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair.] The sense of the last verse rises finely above that of the former: in the first verse it is only said, that he *spake though* in *pain*: in the last the poet expresses a great deal more; for Satan not only *spake*, bur he *vaunted aloud*, and yet at the same time he was not only *in pain*, but was *rack'd with deep despair*. *Pearce.*

The poet had probably in view the passage of Virgil, Æn. i. 212.

131.——*indanger'd Heav'n's perpetual king*,] The reader should remark here the propriety of the word *perpetual*.

Beëlzebub doth not say *eternal king*, for then he could not have boasted of *indangering* his kingdom: but he endeavours to detract as much as he can from God's everlasting dominion, and calls him only *perpetual king*, king from time immemorial or without interruption, as Ovid says *perpetuum carmen*, Met. i. 4.

What Beëlzebub means here is expressed more at large afterwards by Satan, ver. 637.

150.—*whate'er his business be*,] The business which God hath appointed for us to do. So in ii. 70. *His torments* are the torments which he hath appointed for us to suffer. Many instances of this way of speaking may be found in this poem. *Pearce.*

157.——*to be weak is miserable*

Doing or suffering:] Satan having in his speech boasted that the "strength of Gods could not fail," ver. 116. and Beëlzebub having said, ver. 146. "if God has left us this our strength entire to suffer pain strongly, or to do him mightier service as his thralls, what then can our strength avail us?" Satan here replies very properly, whether we are to *suffer* or to *work*, yet still it is some comfort to have our strength undiminished; for it is a *miserable* thing, (says he) *to be weak* and without strength, whether we are doing or suffering. This is the sense of the place; and this is farther confirmed by what Belial says in ii. 199.

191. *If not what resolution*] *What* reinforcement; to which is returned *if not*: a vicious syntax: but the Poet gave it *if none*. *Bentley.*

193. *With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes*
That sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides
Prone on the flood,] Somewhat like those lines in Virgil of two monstrous serpents. Æn ii. 206.

196. *Lay floating many a rood*,] A *rood* is the fourth part of an acre, so that the bulk of Satan is expressed by the same sort of measure, as that of one of the giants in Virgil, Æn. vi. 596.

199.—*or Typhon, whom the den*
By ancient Tarsus held,] Typhon is the same with Typhoëus. That the den of Typhoëus was in Cilicia, of which Tarsus was a celebrated city, we are told by Pindar

and Pomponius Mela. I am much mistaken, if Milton did not make use of Farnaby's note on Ovid. Met. v. 347. to which I refer the reader. He took *ancient* Tarsus perhaps from Nonnus: quoted in Lloyd's Dictionary. *Jortin.*

200 ——*that sea beast*

Leviathan,] The best critics seem now to be agreed, that the author of the book of Job by the *leviathan* meant the *crocodile*; and Milton describes it in the same manner partly as a *fish* and partly as a *beast*, and attributes *scales* to it: and yet by some things one would think that he took it rather for a *whale* (as was the general opinion) there being no crocodiles upon the coasts of Norway, and what follows being related of the whale, but never, as I have heard, of the crocodile.

205.——*as sea-men tell,*] Words well added to obviate the incredibility of casting anchor in this manner. *Hume.*

That some fishes on the coast of Norway have been taken for islands, I suppose Milton had learned from Olaus Magnus and other writers; and it is amply confirmed by Pontoppidan's description of the Kraken in his account of Norway, which are authorities sufficient to justify a poet, though perhaps not a natural historian.

207. *Moors by his side under the lee,*] Anchors by his side under wind. *Mooring* at sea is the laying out of anchors in a proper place for the secure riding of a ship.

207.——*while night*

Invests the sea,] Milton in the same taste speaking of the moon, iv. 609.

And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

209. *So stretch'd out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay*] The length of this verse, consisting of so many monosyllables, and pronounced so slowly, is excellently adapted to the subject it would describe. The tone is upon the first syllable in this line, the "Arch Fiend lay;" whereas it was upon the last syllable of the word in ver. 156 "th' Arch-Fiend reply'd;" a liberty that Milton sometimes takes to pronounce the same word with a different accent in different places. We have marked such words with an accent as are to be pronounced different from the common use.

221. *Forthwith upright he rears, &c.*] The whole part of this great enemy of mankind is filled with such incidents as are very apt to raise and terrify the reader's imagination. Of this nature is his being the first that awakens out of the general trance, with his posture on the burning lake, his rising from it, and the description of his shield and spear. But no single passage in the whole poem is worked up to a greater sublimity, than that wherein his person is described in those celebrated lines,

——He above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a tow'r, &c. *Addison.*

226.—*incumbent on the dusky air*
That felt unusual weight] This conceit of the *air's feeling unusual weight* is borrowed from Spenser, speaking of the old dragon, *B. i. Cant.* 14. *St.* 18.

231. *Of subterranean wind*] Dr. Pearce conjectures that it should be read *subterranean winds*, because it is said *aid the winds* afterwards, and the conjecture seems probable and ingenious: the *fuel'd entrails, sublim'd with mineral fury, aid* and increase *the winds* which first blew up the fire.

250.——*Hail horrors, hail, &c.*] His sentiments are every way answerable to his character, and suitable to a created being of the most exalted and most depraved nature. Such is that in which he takes possession of his place of torments.

——Hail horrors, hail, &c.

And afterwards

——Here at least
We shall be free; &c.

Amid those impieties which this enraged Spirit utters in other places of the poem, the author has taken care to introduce none that is not big with absurdity, and incapable of shocking a religious reader; his words, as the poet himself describes them, bearing only a *semblance of worth, not substance.* He is likewise with great art described as owning his adversary to be almighty. Whatever perverse interpretation he puts on the justice, mercy, and other attributes of the Supreme Being, he frequently confesses his

omnipotence, that being the perfection he was forced to allow him, and the only consideration which could support his pride under the shame of his defeat. Nor must I omit that beautiful circumstance of his bursting out into tears, upon his survey of those innumerable Spirits whom he had involved in the same guilt and ruin with himself. *Addison.*

252 *Receive thy new possessor;*] This passage seems to be an improvement upon Sophocles, Ajax, 395.

253. —— *by place or time.*] Milton is excellent in placing his words: invert them only, and say *by time or place*, and if the reader has any ear, he will perceive how much the alteration is for the worse. For the pause falling upon *place* in the first line *by time or place*, and again upon *place* in the next line *The mind is its own place*, would offend the ear, and therefore is artfully varied.

254. *The mind is its own place.*] These are some of the extravagancies of the Stoics, and could not be better ridiculed than they are here by being put in the mouth of Satan in his present situation.

259.—*th' Almighty hath not built*
Here for his envy.] This is not a place that God should envy us, or think it too good for us; and in this sense the word *envy* is used in several places of the poem, and particularly in iv. 517. viii. 494. and ix. 770.

263. *Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.*] This is a wonderfully fine improvement upon Prometheus's answer to Mercury in Æschylus. Prom. Vinct. 965. It was a memorable saying of Julius Cæsar, that he had rather be the first man in a country-village than the second at Rome. The reader will observe how properly the saying is here applied and accommodated to the speaker. It is here made a sentiment worthy of Satan, and of him only.

276. ——*on the perilous edge*
Of battle.] It has been observed to me by a person of very fine taste, that Shakespear has an expression very like this in 2 Hen. iv. act i.

You knew, he walk'd o'er perils, on an edge
More likely to fall in, than to get o'er:

and something like it in 1 Hen. iv. act 1.

I'll read you matter, deep and dangerous;
As full of peril and adventrous spirit,
As to o'er-walk a current, roaring loud,
On the unstedfast footing of a spear.
Hot. If he fall in, good night, or sink or swim.

287.———*like the moon, whose orb*, &c.] Homer compares the splendor of Achilles' shield to the moon, Iliad. xix. 373. But the shield of Satan was large as the moon seen through a telescope, an instrument first applied to celestial observations by Galileo, a native of Tuscany, whom he means here by *the Tuscan artist*, and afterwards mentions by name in v. 262. a testimony of his honour for so great a man, whom he had known and visited in Italy, as himself informs us in his *Areopagitica*.

292. *His spear, to equal which the tallest pine*, &c.] He walk'd with his spear, in comparison of which the tallest pine was but a wand. For when Homer, Odyss. ix. 322. makes the club of Polyphemus as big as the mast of a ship; and Virgil gives him a pine to walk with, Æn. iii. 659; and Tasso arms Tancred and Argantes with two spears as big as masts, Cant. 6. St. 40; well might Milton assign a spear so much larger to so superior a being.

299. *Natheless.*] Nevertheless, of which it seems to be a contracted diminutive. *Hume.*

This word is frequently used by Spenser, and the old poets.

302. *Thick as autumnal leaves*] Virgil. Æn. vi. 309.

Thick as the leaves in Autumn strow the woods. *Dryden.*

But Milton's comparison is by far the exactest; for it not only expresses a multitude, but also the posture and situation of the Angels. Their lying confusedly in heaps, covering the lake, is finely represented by this image of the leaves in the brooks. And besides the propriety of the application, if we compare the similes themselves, Milton's is by far superior to the other, as it exhibits a real landskip. See *An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients*, p. 23.

305. ———*when with fierce winds*
Orion arm'd, &c.] *Orion* is a constellation represented in the figure of an armed man, and supposed to be attended with stormy weather, Virg. Æn. i. 539: and the Red-Sea

abounds so much with sedge, that in the Hebrew Scripture it is called the *Sedgy Sea*. And he says *hath vex'd the Red-Sea coast* particularly, because the wind usually drives the sedge in great quantities towards the shore.

308.——*perfidious hatred*] Because Pharaoh, after leave given to the Israelites to depart, followed after them like fugitives. *Hume.*

310. *From the sea-shore their floating carcases*, &c.] Much has been said of the long similitudes of Homer, Virgil, and our author, wherein they fetch a compass as it were to draw in new images, besides those in which the direct point of likeness consists. I think they have been sufficiently justified in the general; but in this before us, while the poet is digressing, he raises a new similitude from the floating carcases of the Egyptians. *Heylin.*

328. ——*with linked thunderbolts*
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.] This alludes to the fate of Ajax Oileus, Virg. Æn. i. 44. 45.

338. *As when the potent rod*, &c.] See Exod. x. 13. "Moses stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, and the Lord brought an east wind upon the land, and the east-wind brought the locusts: and the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt—so that the land was darkened."

341. ——*warping*] Working themselves forward, a sea term. *Hume* and *Richardson.*

351. *A multitude, like which*, &c.] This comparison doth not fall below the rest, as some have imagined. They were *thick* as the *leaves*, and *numberless* as the *locusts*, but such a multitude the north *never* poured forth: and we may observe that the subject of this comparison rises very much above the others, *leaves* and *locusts*. *The populous north*, as the northern parts of the world are observed to be more fruitful of people, than the hotter countries: Sir William Temple calls it *the northern hive*. *Pour'd never*, a very proper word to express the inundations of these northern nations. *From her frozen loins*, it is the Scripture expression of children and descendants coming out of the loins, as Gen. xxxv. 11. "Kings shall come out of thy loins:" and these are called *frozen* loins only on account of the coldness of the climate. *To pass Rhene* or *the Danaw*. He might have said consistently with his verse *The Rhine and Danube*, but he chose

the more uncommon names *Rhene* of the Latin, and *Danaw* of the German, both which words are used too in Spenser's Faery Queen, B. 2. Cant. 10. St. 15. They were the Goths, and Huns, and Vandals, who over-run all the southern provinces of Europe, and crossing the Mediterranean *beneath Gibraltar* landed in Africa, and spread themselves as far as the sandy country of Libya. *Beneath Gibraltar*, that is, more southward, the north being uppermost in the globe.

367. *By falsities and lies*] That is, as Mr. Upton observes, by false idols, under corporeal representation *belying* the true God. The Poet plainly alludes to Rom. i. ver. 22. &c. Amos ii, ver. 4. and Jer. xvi. 19.

369. ——*and th' invisible*
Glory of him that made them to transform
Oft to the image of a brute,] Alluding to Rom. i. 23.

376. *Say, Muse*, &c.] The catalogue of evil Spirits has abundance of learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of poetry, which rises in a great measure from its describing the places where they were worshipped, by those beautiful marks of rivers, so frequent among the ancient poets. The author had doubtless in this place Homer's catalogue of ships, and Virgil's list of warriors, in his view. *Addison.*

376.—*their names then known*,] When they had got them new names. Milton finely considered that the names he was obliged to apply to these evil Angels carry a bad signification, and therefore could not be those they had in their state of innocence and glory; he has therefore said their former names are now lost, rased from amongst those of their old associates who retain their purity and happiness. *Richardson.*

386. ——*thron'd*
Between the Cherubim;] This relates to the ark being placed between the two golden Cherubim, 1 Kings vi. 23. 1 Kings viii. 6, 7. See also 2 Kings xix. 15.

387. ——*yea often plac'd*
Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,
Abominations;] This is complained of by the prophet Jeremiah vii. 30. 2 Kings xxi. 4, 5. Ezek. vii. 20, and viii. 5, 6.

392. *First Moloch, horrid king*,] *First* after Satan and

Beëlzebub. The name *Moloch* signifies *king*, and he is called *horrid* king, because of the human sacrifices which were made to him. This idol is supposed by some to be the same as Saturn, to whom the Heathens sacrificed their children, and by others to be the Sun. It is said in Scripture, that the children *passed through the fire to Moloch*, and our author employs the same expression, by which we must understand not that they always actually burnt their children in honour of this idol, but sometimes made them only leap over the flames, or pass nimbly between two fires, to purify them by that illustration, and consecrate them to this false deity.

406. *Next Chemos*, &c.] He is rightly mentioned next after *Moloch*, as their names are joined together in Scripture, 1 King xi. 7. and it was a natural transition from the God of the Ammonites to the God of their neighbours the Moabites. St. Jerom, and several learned men, assert *Chemos* and *Baal Peor* to be only different names for the same idol, and suppose him to be the same with Priapus or the idol of turpitude, and therefore called here *th' obscene dread of Moab's sons*, *from Aroar*, a city upon the river Arnon, the boundary of their country to the north, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Gad, *to Nebo*, a city eastward, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Reuben, *and the wild of southmost Abarim*, a ridge of mountains the boundary of their country to the south; in *Hesebon* or Heshbon, *and Horonaim*, *Seon's realm*, two cities of the Moabites, taken from them by Sihon King of the Amorites, Numb. xxi. 26. *beyond the flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines*, a place famous for vineyards, as appears from Jer. xlviii. 32. *O vine of Sibmah*, *I will weep for thee*, and *Eleälé*, another city of the Moabites not far from Heshbon, *to the Asphaltic pool*, the Dead Sea, so called from the *Asphaltus* or bitumen abounding in it; the river Jordan empties itself into it, and that river and this sea were the boundary of the Moabites to the west. It was this God, under the name of *Baal Peor*, that the Israelites were induced to worship in *Sittim*, and committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab, for which there died of the plague twenty and four thousand, as we read in Numbers xxv.

415. *orgies*] Wild frantic rites; generally by *orgies* are understood the feasts of Bacchus.

417. —*lust hard by hate*;] What a fine moral sentiment has our author here introduced and couched in half a verse! He might perhaps have in view Spenser's Mask of Cupid, where Anger, Strife, &c. are represented as immediately following Cupid in the procession. See Faery Queen, B. 3. Cant. 12.

422. *Baalim and Ashtaroth*,] These are properly named together, as they frequently are in Scripture; and there were many *Baalim* and many *Ashtaroth*; they were the general names of the Gods and Goddesses of Syria, Palestine, and the neighbouring countries. It is supposed that by them is meant the Sun and the host of Heaven.

437. *With these in troop*, &c.] *Astoreth* or *Astarte* was the Goddess of the *Phœnicians*, and the moon was adored under this name. She is rightly said to come in troop with Ashtaroth, as she was one of them, the moon with the stars. Sometimes she is called *queen of Heaven*, Jer. vii. 18. and xliv. 17. 18. She is likewise called *the Goddess of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings xi. 5. *and the abomination of the Zidonians*, 2 Kings xxiii. 13. as she was worshipped very much in *Zidon or Sidon*, a famous city of the *Phœnicians*, situated upon the Mediterranean. Solomon, who had many wives that were foreigners, was prevailed upon by them to introduce the worship of this Goddess into Israel, 1 Kings xi. 5. and built her temple on the mount of Olives, which on account of this and other idols is called *the mountain of corruption*. 2 Kings xxiii. 13. as here by the poet *th' offensive mountain*, and before *that opprobrious hill*, and *that hill of scandal*.

446. *Thammuz came next*, &c.] The account of *Thammuz* is finely romantic, and suitable to what we read among the Ancients of the worship which was paid to that idol. The reader will pardon me, if I insert as a note on this beautiful passage, the account given us by the late ingenious Mr. Maundrel of this ancient piece of worship, and probably the first occasion of such a superstition. "We "came to a fair large river—doubtless the ancient river "Adonis, so famous for the idolatrous rites performed here,

" in lamentation of Adonis. We had the fortune to see " what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion " which Lucian relates, *viz.* that this stream, at certain " seasons of the year, especially about the feast of Adonis, " is of a bloody colour; which the Heathens looked upon " as proceeding from a kind of sympathy in the river for " the death of Adonis, who was killed by a wild boar in " the mountains, out of which this stream rises. Some- " thing like this we saw actually come to pass, for the water " was stained to a surprising redness; and as we observed " in travelling, had discoloured the sea a great way into a " reddish hue, occasioned doubtless by a sort of minium or " red earth, washed into the river by the violence of the " rain, and not by any stain from Adonis's blood." *Addison.*

457. ——— *Next came one*

Who mourn'd in earnest, &c.] The lamentations for Adonis were without reason, but there was real occasion for *Dagon's* mourning, when the ark of God was taken by the Philistines, and being placed in the temple of Dagon, the next morning " behold Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold (*upon the grunsel* or groundsil *edge*, as Milton expresses it, on the edge of the footpost of his temple gate) only the stump of Dagon was left to him" as we read 1 Sam. v. 4.

467. *Him follow'd Rimmon*, &c.] *Rimmon* was a God of the Syrians, but it is not certain what he was, or why so called. We only know that he had a temple at *Damascus*, 2 Kings v. 18, the most celebrated city of Syria, *on the banks of Abana and Pharphar, rivers of Damascus*, as they are called 2 Kings v. 12. *A leper once he lost*, Naaman the Syrian, who was cured of his leprosy by Elisha, and who for that reason resolved thenceforth to " offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other God, but unto the Lord," 2 Kings v. 17. " And gain'd a king, Ahaz his sottish conqu'ror," who, with the assistance of the King of Assyria, having taken Damascus, saw there an altar, and sent a pattern of it to Jerusalem to have another made by it, directly contrary to the command of God, who had appointed what kind of altar he would have (Exod. xxvii. 1, 2, &c.) and

had ordered that no other should be made of any matter or figure whatsoever. Ahaz, however, upon his return removed the altar of the Lord from its place, and set up this new altar in its stead, "and offered thereon," 2 Kings xvi. 10, &c. and thenceforth gave himself up to idolatry, and instead of the God of Israel, "he sacrificed unto the Gods of Damascus," 2 Chron. xxviii. 23. whom he had subdued.

478. *Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train, &c.*

Osiris and Isis were the principal deities of the Egyptians, by which it is most probable they originally meant the sun and moon.

482. ——————*Nor did Israel 'scape*

Th' infection, &c.] The Israelites, by dwelling so long in Egypt, were infected with the superstitions of the Egyptians, and in all probability made the golden calf, or ox (for so it is differently called, Psal. cxvi. 19. 20.) in imitation of that which represented Osiris, and out of the golden earrings, which it is most likely they borrowed of the Egyptians, Exod. xii. 35. "The calf in Oreb," and so the Psalmist, "They made a calf in Horeb," Psal. cvi. 19. while Moses was upon the Mount with God. "And the rebel king," Jeroboam made king by the Israelites who rebelled against Rehoboam, 1 Kings xii. "doubled that sin" by making two golden calves, probably in imitation of the Egyptians with whom he had conversed, who had a couple of oxen which they worshipped, one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other Mnevis at Hierapolis the chief city of the lower Egypt: and he set them up "in Bethel and in Dan," the two extremities of the kingdom of Israel, the former in the south, the latter in the north.

490. *Belial came last, &c.*] The characters of Moloch and Belial prepare the reader's mind for their respective speeches and behaviour in the second and sixth book.

Addison.

They are very properly made, one the first, the other the last, in this catalogue, as they both make so great a figure afterwards in the poem. Moloch the first, as he was the "fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven," ii. 44; and Belial the last, as he is represented as the most "timorous and

slothful," ii. 117. It doth not appear that he was ever worshipped; but lewd profligate fellows, such as regard neither God nor man, are called in Scripture "the children of Belial," Deut. xiii. 13. So the sons of Eli are called, 1 Sam. ii. 12. "Now the sons of Eli were sons of Belial, they knew not the Lord." So the men of Gibeah, who abused the Levite's wife, Judges xix. 22, are called likewise "sons of Belial;" which are the particular instances here given by our author.

504. ——— *when the hospitable door*
Expos'd a matron to avoid worse rape.] So Milton caused it to be printed in the second edition; the first ran thus,

——— when hospitable "doors
Yielded their matrons" to prevent worse rape.

And Milton did well in altering the passage; for it was not true of Sodom, that any matron was yielded there; the women "had not known man," Gen. xix. 8; and as they were only offered, not accepted, it is not proper to say they were "yielded." But observe that Milton in the second edition changed "yielded" into "expos'd," because in what was done at Gibeah, Judges xix. 25, the Levite's wife was not only "yielded," but put out of doors and "expos'd" to the men's lewdness. *Pearce.*

506. *These were the prime.*] It is observed by Macrobius and others, in commendation of Homer's catalogue of ships and warriors, that he hath therein mentioned every body who doth, and no body who doth not afterwards make his appearance in the poem: whereas it is otherwise in Virgil; some have a place in the list, who are never heard of in the battles, and others make a figure in the battles, who are not taken notice of in the list. Neither hath Milton in this respect attained Homer's excellence and beauty; but then it should be considered what was his intent and purpose in this catalogue. It was not possible for him to exhibit as complete a catalogue of the fallen Angels, as Homer has given us of the Grecian and Trojan commanders; and as it was possible, or indeed proper, so neither was it at all his intention.

508. *Th' Ionian Gods of Javan's issue held*
Gods, &c.] Javan, the fourth son of Japhet, and grandson

of Noah, is supposed to have settled in the south-west part of Asia Minor, about Ionia, which contains the radical letters of his name. His descendants were the Ionians and Grecians; and the principal of their Gods were Heaven and Earth; Titan was their eldest son, he was the father of the giants, and his empire was seized by his younger brother Saturn, as Saturn's was by Jupiter son of Saturn and Rhea. These were first known in the island of Crete, now Candia, in which is Mount Ida, where Jupiter is said to have been born; thence passed over into Greece, and resided on Mount Olympus in Thessaly; "the snowy top of cold Olympus," as Homer calls it, Iliad i. 420, and xviii. 615; which mountain afterwards became the name of Heaven among their worshippers.

529. *Semblance of worth not substance*] An expression of Spenser's Faery Queen, b. ii. cant. ix. st. 2.

530. *Their fainting courage,*] In the first edition he gave it "their fainted courage," if that be not an error of the press.

532. *Of trumpets loud and clarions.*] A clarion is a small shrill treble trumpet. *Hume.* So Fairfax mentions and distinguishes them, cant. i. st. 71.

"When trumpets loud and clarions shrill were heard."

533. ——*that proud honour claim'd*
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;] Azazel is not the scape-goat, as it is commonly called, but signifies some demon, as the learned Dr. Spenser hath abundantly proved. He shows that this name is used for some demon or devil by several ancient authors, Jewish and Christian, and derives it from two Hebrew words, *Az* and *Azel*, signifying "brave in retreating," a proper appellation for the standard-bearer to the fallen Angels. We see Milton gives Azazel a right to be standard-bearer on account of his stature; he had no notion of a dapper ensign who can hardly carry his colours.

535. *Who forthwith,* &c.] There are several other strokes in the first book wonderfully poetical, and instances of that sublime genius so peculiar to the author. Such is the description of Azazel's stature, and of the infernal standard which he unfurls; as also of that ghastly light, by which the fiends appear to one another in their place of torments:

the shout of the whole host of fallen Angels when drawn up in battle array: the review which the leader makes of his infernal army: the flash of light which appeared upon the drawing of their swords: the sudden production of the Pandemonium: and the artificial illuminations made in it.

Addison.

545. *Ten thousand banners rise into the air*
With orient colours waving; with them rose
A forest huge of spears;] So Tasso, describing the Christian and Pagan armies preparing to engage, cant. xx. st. 28.

Loose in the wind wav'd their ensigns light,
Trembled the plumes that on their crests were set;
Their arms, impresses, colours, gold and stone,
'Gainst the sun beams smil'd, flamed, sparkled, shone.

29. Of dry topt oaks they seem'd two forests thick;
So did each host with spears and spikes abound. Fairfax.

548. ——*serried shields.*] Locked one within another, linked and clasped together, from the French "serrer," to lock, to shut close. *Home.*

550. ——*to the Dorian mood*, &c.] All accounts of the music of the ancients are very uncertain and confused. There seem to have been three principal modes or measures among them, the Lydian, the Phrygian, and the Dorian.—The Lydian was the most doleful, the Phrygian the most sprightly, and the Dorian the most grave and majestic: and Milton in another part of his works uses grave and Doric as synonimous terms. "If we think to regulate printing, thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. No music must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is 'grave and Doric."

Dr. Greenwood, of Warwick, hath sent me the following addition to this note. "Hence is to be observed the exactness of Milton's judgment in appropriating the several instruments to the several purposes which they were to serve, and the different effects they produced. Thus, when 'a doubtful hue was cast' on the countenance of Satan and his associates, and they were but little above despair, in order to 'raise their fainting courage and dispel their fears,' he commanded his standard to be 'uprear'd at the warlike

sound of trumpets and clarions;' which immediately inspired them with such a flow of spirits, that they are represented as sending up 'a shout that tore Hell's concave.' But when this ardour was once blown up, and they were to move in perfect phalanx, then the instruments are changed for 'flutes and recorders to the Dorian mood,' which composed them into a more cool and deliberate valour, so that they marched on with silence and resolution."

560. *Breathing united force with fixed thought*
Mov'd on in silence.] Thus Homer makes the Grecians march on in silence breathing force, Iliad iii. 8.

567. ——*He through the armed files*
Dart his experienc'd eye.] Not unlike that in Shakspeare, Anth. and Cleop. act i.

——those his goodly eyes
That o'er the files and musters of the war
Have glow'd like plated Mars.

575. ——*that small infantry*
Warr'd on by cranes;] All the heroes and armies that ever were assembled were no more than pygmies in comparison with these Angels.

580. ——*he above the rest*, &c.] What a noble description is here of Satan's person! and how different from the common and ridiculous representations of him, with horns and a tail and cloven feet! and yet Tasso hath so described him, cant. iv. The greatest masters in painting had not such sublime ideas as Milton, and among all their Devils have drawn no portrait comparable to this; as every body must allow who hath seen the pictures or the prints of Michael and the Devil by Raphael, and of the same by Guido, and of the last judgment by Michael Angelo.

598. ——*and with fear of change*
Perplexes monarchs] It is said that this noble poem was in danger of being suppressed by the Licencer on account of this simile, as if it contained some latent treason in it: but it is saying little more than poets have said under the most absolute monarchies; as Virgil, Georg. i. 464.

600. ——*his face*
Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd] Had cut into, had made trenches there, of the French *trencher* to cut. Shake-

spear uses the same word speaking of a scar, "it was this very sword *intrench'd* it." All's Well that ends Well, act ii.

609.——*amerc'd*] This word is not used here in its proper law-sense, of mulcted, fined, &c. but as a strange affinity with the Greek word, to deprive, to take away, as Homer has used much to our purpose. The Muse amerced him of his eyes, but gave him the faculty of singing sweetly. Odyss. viii. 64. And I very well remember to have read the word used in the same sense somewhere in Spenser, but cannot at present turn to the place.

611. ——*yet faithful how th y stood*] To see the true construction of this we must go back to ver. 605 for the verb. The sense then is this, to "behold the fellows of his crime condemned," yet how they stood faithful.

Richardson.

612.——*as when Heaven's fire*

Hath scath'd, &c.] Hath hurt, hath damaged; a word frequently used in Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespear, and our old writers. This is a very beautiful and close simile; it represents the majestic stature, and withered glory of the Angels; and the last with great propriety, since their lustre was impaired by thunder, as well as that of the trees in the simile: and besides, the blasted heath gives us some idea of that singed burning soil, on which the Angels were standing.

619. *Thrice he assay'd, and thrice—*

Tears such as Angels weep, burst forth:] Like Homer's Ichor of the Gods which was different from the blood of mortals. This weeping of Satan on surveying his numerous host, and the thoughts of their wretched state, puts one in mind of the story of Xerxes weeping on seeing his vast army, and reflecting that they were mortal, at the time that he was hastening them to their fate, and to the intended destruction of the greatest people in the world, to gratify his own vain glory.

633. *Hath emptied Heav'n*,] It is conceived that a third part of the Angels fell with Satan, according to Rev. xii. 4. "And his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven and cast them to the earth;" and this opinion Milton hath expressed in several places, ii. 692. v. 710. vi. 156: but

Satan here talks big and magnifies their number, as if their "exile had emptied Heaven."

642. *Which tempted our attempt,*] This kind of jingle was undoubtedly thought an elegance by Milton, and many instances of it may be shown not only in his works, but I believe in all the best poets both ancient and modern, though the latter I am afraid have been sometimes too liberal of them.

647.——*that he no less*, &c.] Satan had owned just before, ver. 642, that they had been deceived by God's concealing his strength; he now says, he also shall find himself mistaken in his turn; he shall find our cunning such, as that though we have been overpowered, we are not more than half subdued. *Richardson.*

662. *understood*] Not expressed, not openly declared, and yet implied. *Pearce.*

664.——*drawn from the thighs*] It may be observed here, that Milton, to keep up the dignity of language, has purposely avoided the trite phrase "drawn from the sides."

667.——*with grasped arms*] The known custom of the Roman soldiers, when they applauded a speech of their general, was to smite their shields with their swords.

Bentley.

And the epithet "grasped," joined to "arms," determines the expression to mean "swords" only, which were spoken of a little before, ver. 664. *Pearce.*

Mr. Upton is of opinion that Milton in what follows imitates both Spenser and Shakspeare. Queen, b. i. cant. 4. st. 40. Jul. Cæsar, act v.

Milton in his imitations scarcely ever confines himself to the beauties or expressions of one author, but enriches his diction with the spoils of many, and hence surpasses any one.

669. *Hurling defiance tow'ard the vault of Heav'n.*

Hurling defiance toward the visible Heaven is in effect hurling defiance toward the invisible Heaven, the seat of God and Angels.

671. *Belch'd*] So Virgil, Æn. iii. 570. says "eructans" of Ætna, from which or from mount Vesuvius, or the like, our poet took the idea of this mountain.

673. *That in his womb*] A very great man was observing one day a little inaccuracy of expression in the poet's making this mountain a person and a male person, and at the same time attributing a "womb" to it: and perhaps it would have been better if he had written "its womb;" but "womb" is used in as large a sense as the Latin "uterus," which Virgil applies to a stag, Æn. vii. 490.

674. *The work of sulphur*] For metals are supposed to consist of two essential parts or principles; mercury, as the basis or metallic matter; and sulphur as the binder or cement, which fixes the fluid mercury into a coherent malleable mass. See Chambers's Dict. of Sulphur.

678. *Mammon.*] This name is Syriac; and signifies riches. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon," says our Saviour, Mat. vi. 24. and bids us "make to ourselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness," Luke xvi. 9. and ver. 11. "If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous Mammon, who will commit to your trust the true? Some look upon Mammon as the God of riches, and Mammon is accordingly made a person by our poet, and was so by Spenser before him, whose description of Mammon and his cave our poet seems to have had his eye upon in several places.

682. *The riches of Heav'n's pavement trodden gold,*]

So Homer speaks of the pavement of Heaven, as if it was of gold, Iliad. iv. 2. And so the heavenly Jerusalem is described by St. John, Rev. xxi. 21. "and the street of the city is pure gold."

684. ——— ——— *by him first*

Men also, and by his suggestion taught,] Dr. Bentley says, the poet assigns as "two" causes "him" and "his suggestion," which are one and the same thing. This observation has the appearance of accuracy. But Milton is exact, and alludes in a beautiful manner to a superstitious opinion, generally believed amongst the miners: that there are a sort of Devils which converse much in minerals, where they are frequently seen to busy and employ themselves in all the operations of the workmen; they will dig, cleanse, melt, and separate the metals. See G. Agricola de Animantibus Subterraneis. So that Milton poetically supposes

Mammon and his clan to have taught the sons of earth by example and practical instruction, as well as precept and mental suggestion. *Warburton.*

694. ———*and the works of Memphian king*] He seems to allude particularly to the famous Pyramids of Egypt, which were near Memphis.

695. *Learn how their greatest monuments of fame,*
And strength and art, &c.] This passage has been misunderstood by Dr. Bentley and others. The meaning is plainly thus, "Learn how their greatest monuments of fame," and how their "strength and art are easily outdone," &c.

699. *And hands innumerable*] There were 360,000 men employed for twenty years upon one of the Pyramids, according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. and Pliny, lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

702. ———*a second multitude*
With wondrous art founded the massy ore,] The first band dug the metal out of the mountain, "a second multitude on the plain hard by founded" or melted it; for "founded" it should be read as in the first edition, and not "found out" as it is in the subsequent ones; "founded" from "fundere," to melt, to cast metal.

704. ———*and scumm'd the bullion dross:*] The word "bullion" does not signify "purified ore," as Bentley says; but ore boiled or boiling; and when the dross is taken off, then it is purified ore. Agreeably to this Milton, in his tract called "Of the Reformation of England," says———"to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the drossy bullion of the people's sins." And Milton makes "bullion" an adjective here, though commonly it is a substantive; just as in v. 140. we have "ocean brim," and in iii. 284, "virgin seed." And so "bullion dross" may signify "the dross that came from the metal," as Spenser expresses it, or the dross that swam on the surface of the boiling ore. The sense of the passage is this; they "founded" or melted the "ore" that was in the "mass," by separating or "severing" each kind, that is, the sulphur, earth, &c. from the metal; and after that, they "scumm'd" the "dross" that floated on the top of the boiling ore. *Pearce.*

"Bullion dross," as one would say gold-dross or silver-dross, the dross which arose from the melted metal in refining it. *Richardson.*

708. *As in an organ*, &c.] This simile is as exact, as it is new. And we may observe, that our author frequently fetches his images from music more than any other English poet, as he was very fond of it, and was himself a performer upon the organ and other instruments.

711. *Rose like an exhalation*,] The sudden rising of Pandemonium is supposed, and with great probability, to be a hint taken from some of the moving scenes and machines invented for the stage by the famous Inigo Jones.

712. *Of dulcet symphonies*] Uttering such "dulcet," and harmonious breath. Shakspeare, Midsummer Night's Dream, act ii.

717. *Not Babylon*, &c.] Alcairo is the moderm name of Memphis, and not so fit to join with "Belus or Serapis." But though these lines may possibly be faulty, yet that is not authority sufficient for an editor to reject them as spurious.

720. *Belus or Serapis*] Belus the son of Nimrod, second king of Babylon, and the first man worshipped for a God, by the Chaldeans stiled Bel, by the Phœnicians Baal. Serapis the same with Apis the God of the Egyptians.
Hume.

725. *Within*,] An adverb here and not a præposition; and therefore Milton puts a comma after it, that it may not be joined in construction with "her ample spaces."

728. ——— *and blazing cressets fed*
With Naphtha and Asphaltus] A cresset is any great blazing light, as a beacon. Naphtha is of so unctuous and fiery a nature, that it kindles at approaching the fire, or the sun-beams. Asphaltus or bitumen, another pitchy substance. *Rich.* And the word cresset I find likewise used in Shakspeare, 1 Hen. iv. act iii. Glendower speaks,

———at my nativity
The front of Heav'n was full of fiery shapes,
Of burning cressets.

738. *Nor was his name unheard or unador'd*
In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land
Men call'd him Mulciber, &c.] Bentley says "this is care-

lessly expressed. Why does he not tell his name in Greece, as well as his Latin name? and Mulciber was not so common a name as Vulcan." Warburton thinks "it is very exactly expressed. Milton is here speaking of a Devil exercising the *founder*'s art; and says he was not unknown in Greece and Italy. The poet has his choice of three names to tell us what they called him in the classic word, Hephæstos, Vulcan, and Mulciber, the last only of which designing the office of a *founder*, he has very judiciously chosen that."

740. ——————*and how he fell*
From Heav'n, &c.] Alluding to these lines in Homer's Iliad, i. 590.

Once in your cause I felt his matchless might,
Hurl'd headlong downward, from th' ethereal height,
Tost all the day in rapid circles round,
Nor, till the sun descended, touch'd the ground;
Breathless I fell, in giddy motion lost;
TheSinthians rais'd me on the Lemnian coast. Pope.

It is worth observing how Milton lengthens out the time of Vulcan's fall. He not only says with Homer, that it was all day long, but we are led through the parts of the day, from morn to noon, from noon to evening, and this a summer's day. There is a similar passage in the Odyssey, where Ulysses describes his sleeping twenty-four hours together, and to make the time seem the longer, divides it into several parts, and points them out distinctly to us, Odyss. vii. 288.

All night I slept, oblivious of my pain
Aurora dawn'd, and Phœbus shone in vain;
Nor till oblique he slop'd his evening ray,
Had Somnus dry'd the balmy dews away. Pope.

750. *By all his engines*,] An ingenious gentleman observes, that *this* word in the old English was often used for devices, wit, contri*v*ance; as in the glossary to Chaucer and in the statute of Mortmain, 7 Edw. I.

752. ——————*the winged heralds*] He has given them wings not only as Angels, but to express their speed. Hume.

763. *Though like a cover'd field*,] Cover'd here signifies inclos'd; the field for combat, the lists. The hall of Pan-

demonium, one room only, is like a field for martial exercise on horseback. Richardson.

764. ———*and at the Soldan's chair*, &c.] Milton frequently affects the use of uncommon words, when the common ones would suit the measure of the verse as well, believing, I suppose, that it added to the dignity of his language. So here he says the Soldan's chair instead of the Sultan's chair, and Panim chivalry instead of Pagan chivalry; as before he said Rhene or the Danaw, ver. 393, when he might have said the Rhine or Danube. Spenser likewise uses the words Soldan and Panim, Faery Queen, b. v. cant. viii. st. 26. and other places.

768. *As bees*, &c.] An imitation of Homer, who compares the Grecians crouding to a swarm of bees, Iliad ii. 87.

As from some rocky clift the shepherd sees
Clust'ring in heaps on heaps the driving bees,
Rolling, and black'ning, swarms succeeding swarms,
With deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms;
Dusky they spread, a close imbody'd croud,
And o'er the vale descends the living cloud. Pope.

There are such similies likewise in Virgil, Æn. i. 430.

Such is their toil, and such their busy pains,
As exercise the bees in flow'ry plains;
When winter past, and summer scarce begun,
Invites them forth to labour in the sun;
Some lead their youth abroad, &c. Dryden.

But our poet carries the similitude farther than either of his great masters, and mentions the bees "conferring their state affairs," as he is going to give an account of the consultations of the Devils.

777. *Behold a wonder!* &c.] The passage in the catalogue, explaining the manner how Spirits transform themselves by contractions or enlargement of their dimensions, is introduced with great judgment, to make way for several surprising accidents in the sequel of the poem. There follows one, at the very end of the first book, which is what the French critics call marvellous, but at the same time probable by reason of the passage last mentioned. As soon as the infernal palace is finished, we are told, the multitude and rabble of Spirits shrunk themselves into a small com-

pass, that there might be room for such a numberless assembly in this capacious hall. But it is the poet's refinement upon this thought which I most admire, and which is indeed very noble in itself. For he tells us, that notwithstanding the vulgar, among the fallen Spirits, contracted their forms, those of the first rank and dignity still preserved their natural dimensions. Addison.

Voltaire is of a different opinion with regard to the contrivance of Pandemonium and the transformation of the Devils into dwarfs; and possibly more may concur with him than with Mr. Addison. See his Essay on Epic Poetry, p. 113, 114. W. Duncombe, Esq. justifies Milton against Voltaire's objections. As to the contrivance of Pandemonium, he thinks it agreeable to the rules of decency and decorum, to provide a saloon for his Satanic Majesty and his mighty compeers (the progeny of Heaven) in some measure adapted to the dignity of their characters: and the description is not inferior to any thing in Homer or Virgil of the like kind. We may farther add, that as Satan had his palace in Heaven, it was more likely that he should have one in Hell likewise; and as he had before harangued the fallen Angels in the open field, it was proper, for the sake of variety as well as for other reasons, that the council should be held in Pandemonium. As to the fallen Angels contracting their shapes, while their chiefs preserved their natural dimensions, Duncombe observes with Addison, that Milton had artfully prepared the reader for this incident by marking their power to contract or enlarge their substance; and Milton seems to have intended hereby to distinguish and aggrandize the idea of the chieftains, and to describe in a more probable manner the numberless myriads of fallen Angels contained in one capacious hall. If Milton had represented the whole host in their enormous sizes, crouded in one room, the fiction would have been more shocking and more unnatural than as it stands at present. These arguments carry some weight with them, and upon these we must rest Milton's defence, and leave the determination to the reader.

780.——*like that pigmean race*, &c.] There are also several noble similies and allusions in the first book of Pa-

radise Lost. And here I must observe, that when Milton alludes either to things or persons, he never quits his simile till it rises to some very great idea, which is often foreign to the occasion that gave birth to it. The resemblance does not, perhaps, last above a line or two, but the poet runs on with the hint till he has raised out of it some glorious image or sentiment, proper to inflame the mind of the reader, and to give it that sublime kind of entertainment which is suitable to the nature of an heroic poem. Those, who are acquainted with Homer's and Virgil's way of writing, cannot but be pleased with this kind of structure in Milton's similitudes. I am the more particular on this head, because ignorant readers, who have formed their taste upon the quaint similies and little turns of wit, which are so much in vogue among modern poets, cannot relish these beauties which are of a much higher nature, and are therefore apt to censure Milton's comparisons in which they do not see any surprising points of likeness. In short, if we look into the conduct of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, as the great fable is the soul of each poem, so to give their works an agreeable variety, their episodes are so many short fables, and their similies so many short episodes; to which you may add, if you please, that their metaphors are so many short similies. If the reader considers the comparisons in the first book of Milton, of the sun in an eclipse, of the sleeping leviathan, of the bees swarming about their hive, of the faery dance, in the view wherein I have here placed them, he will easily discover the great beauties that are in each of those passages. Addison.

783.——————————*sees*,

Or dreams he sees,] Virg Æn. vi. 454.

785. *Sit arbitress*,] Arbitress here signifies witness, spectatress. So Hor. Epod. v. 49.

785.——*and nearer to the earth*] This is said in allusion to the superstitious notion of witches and faeries having great power over the moon. Virgil. Ecl. viii. 69.

790. *Reduc'd their shapes immense, and were at large*, &c. Though numberless they had so contracted their dimensions, as to have room enough in the hall. So, xi. 626,

"Ere long to swim at large." Richardson.

BOOK II.

1. *High on a throne*, &c.] I HAVE before observed in general, that the persons whom Milton introduces into his poem, always discover such sentiments and behaviour as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their respective characters. Every circumstance in their speeches and actions is with great justness and delicacy adapted to the persons who speak and act. As the poet very much excels in this consistency of his characters, I shall beg leave to consider several passages of the second book in this light. That superior greatness and mock-majesty, which is ascribed to the prince of the fallen Angels, is admirably preserved in the beginning of this book. His opening and closing the debate; his taking on himself that great enterprise at the thought of which the whole infernal assembly trembled; his encountering the hideous phantom, who guarded the gates of Hell and appeared to him in all his terrors, are instances of that proud and daring mind, which could not brook submission even to Omnipotence. The same boldness and intrepidity of behaviour discovers itself in the several adventures which he meets with during his passage through the regions of unformed matter, and particularly in his address to those tremendous Powers who are described as presiding over it. *Addison.*

2. —— *the wealth of Ormus and of Ind*,] That is diamonds, a principal part of the wealth of India, where they are found, and of the island Ormus (in the Persian gulf) the mart for them. *Pearce.*

3. *Or where the gorgeous east*, &c.] The throne of Satan outshone diamonds, or pearl and gold. The choicest whereof are produced in the east. Spenser expresses the same thought thus, Faery Queen, b. iii. c. iv. st. 23.

——that it did pass
Th' wealth of th' east and pomp of Persian kings.

And the east is said to *shower them with richest hand* by an excellent metaphor to express the great plenty and abundance of them, and to shower them *on her kings*, because there the kings have the principal share of property; or this might be said, as Dr. Pearce conceives, in allusion to the custom used at the coronation of some kings in the east, of showering gold and precious stones upon their heads.

18. *Me though just right*, &c.] *Me* is rightly placed first in the sentence, being the emphatical word and the accusative case governed by the two verbs which follow, *create* and *established*. Me though just right, &c. did first create your leader, yet this loss hath much more established in a safe unenvied throne.

24.——*The happier state*
In Heav'n which follows dignity, &c.] He means that the higher in dignity any being was in Heaven, the happier his state was; and that therefore inferiors might there envy superiors, because they were happier too. *Pearce.*

40.——*and by what best way*,] Smoother and more emphatical thus,
——*and by what way best.* *Bentley.*

43. ——*next him Moloch*,] The part of *Moloch* is likewise in all its circumstances full of that fire and fury which distinguish this Spirit from the rest of the fallen Angels. He is described in the first book, as besmeared with the blood of human sacrifices, and delighted with the tears of parents and the cries of children. In the second book he is marked out as the fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven: and if we consider the figure he makes in the sixth book, where the battle of Angels is described, we find it every way answerable to the same furious enraged character. It may be worth while to observe, that Milton has represented this violent impetuous Spirit, who is hurried on by such precipitate passions, as the *first* that rises in that assembly, to give his opinion upon their present posture of affairs. Accordingly he declares himself abruptly for war, and appears incensed at his companions for losing so much time as even to deliberate upon it. All his sentiments are rash, audacious, and despe-

rate. Such is that of arming themselves with their tortures, and turning their punishments upon him who inflicted them. His preferring annihilation to shame or misery is also highly suitable to his character; as the comfort he draws from their disturbing the peace of Heaven, that if it be not victory it is revenge, is a sentiment truly diabolical, and becoming the bitterness of this implacable Spirit. *Addison.*

56—— *sit ling'ring here*] Bentley reads *stay ling'ring here*, because we have before *stand in arms:* but *stand* does not always signify the posture; see an instance of this in John i. 26. To *stand in arms* is no more than to *be in arms.* So in xi. 1. it is said of Adam and Eve that they *stood repentant*, that is were repentant; for a little before it is said that they *prostrate fell.* That *sit* is right here, may appear from ver. 164. 420. 475. *Pearce. Sit ling'ring* to answer *sit contriving* before. While they sit contriving, shall the rest sit lingering?

89. *Must exercise us*] He uses the word exercise, which signifies to vex and trouble, as well as to practise and employ

90. *The vassals of his anger,*] The Devils are the *vassals* of the Almighty, thence Mammon says, ii. 252. *Our state of splendid vassalage.* And *the vassals of anger* is an expression confirmed by Spenser in his Tears of the Muses.

Ah, wretched world, and all that are therein,
The *vassals* of God's *wrath*, and slaves of sin.

But yet when I remember St. Paul's words, Rom. ix. 22. *The vessels of wrath fitted to destruction*, I suspect that Milton here, as perpetually, kept close to the Scripture stile, and leaves it to the reader's choice, *vassals or vessels. Bentley.*

97. ——*happier far*
Than miserable to have eternal being:] That it is better not to be than to be eternally miserable, our Saviour himself hath determined, Matth. xxvi. 24. Mark xiv. 21.

108. *To less than Gods*] He gave it *To less than God.* For it was dangerous to the Angels. *Bentley.*

This emendation appears very probable at first view: but the Angels, though often called *Gods*, yet sometimes are only compared or said to be *like the Gods*, as in i. 570.

Their visages and stature *as of Gods:* and in other passages.

109. *Belial, in act more graceful and humane*;] Belial is described in the first boook as the idol of the lewd and luxurious. He is in the second book, pursuant to that description, characterized as timorous and slothful; and if we look into the sixth book, we find him celebrated in the battle of Angels for nothing but that scoffing speech which he makes to Satan, on their supposed advantage over the enemy. As his appearance is uniform in these three several views, we find his sentiments in the infernal assembly every way conformable to his character. Such are his apprehensions of a second battle, his horrors of annihilation, his preferring to be miserable rather than *not to be*. I need not observe, that the contrast of thought in this speech, and that which precedes, gives an agreeable variety to the debate. *Addison.*

The fine contrast, which Mr. Addison observes there is betwixt the characters of Moloch and Belial, might probably be first suggested to our poet by a contrast of the same kind betwixt Argantes and Aletes in the second Canto of Tasso's Jerusalem. *Thyer.*

124. —— *in fact of arms*,] Dr. Heylin says it is from the Italian *Fatto d'Arme*, a battle; or else we should read here *feats of arms*, as in ver. 537.

138. ——*would on his throne*
Sit unpolluted,] 'Tis a reply to that part of Moloch's speech, where he had threatened to mix the throne itself of God with infernal sulphur and strange fire.

156. *Impotence*,] Impotence, according to a Latin idiom, is want of force of mind sufficient to controul passions.

159. *Wherefore cease we then?* &c.] Belial is here proposing what is urged by those *who counsel war*; and then replies to it, *Is this then worst*, &c. and shows that they had been in a worse condition, 165, 169, *that sure was worse*; and might be so again, 170—186, *this would be worse.*

170. *What if the breath that kindled those grim fires*,]
Is. xxx. 33. *For Tophet is ordained of old, the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it.*

174. *His red right hand*] By *his* seems to have been meant *God's*, who is mentioned so often in the course of the debate,

that he might very well be understood without being named; and by *her stores* in the next line, I suppose, are meant *Hell's*, as mention is made afterwards of *her cataracts of fire.*

180. *Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd*
Each on his rock transfix'd,] Borrowed of Virgil in his description of the fate of Ajax Oileus, Æn. i. 44. 45.

181.——*the sport and prey*
Of wracking whirlwinds,] Virg. Æn. vi. 75.

185. *Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd,*] This way of introducing several adjectives beginning with the same letter without any conjunction, is very frequent with the Greek tragedians, whom our author imitated. What strength and beauty it adds, need not to be mentioned. *Thyer.*

190.—*he from Heav'n's highth*
All these our motions vain sees and derides;] Alluding to Ps. ii. 4. *He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision.*

199. *To suffer as to do;*] Et facere, et pati. So Scævola boasted that he was a Roman, and knew as well how to suffer as to act. Liv. ii. 12. So in Horace, Od. iii. xxiv. 43.

220. *This horror will grow mild, this darkness light,*] It is quite too much, as Dr. Bentley says, that the darkness should turn into light: but *light*, I conceive, is an adjective here as well as *mild*; or as Mr. Thyer thinks, it is an adjective used in the same sense as when we say *It is a light night.* It is not well expressed, and the worse as it rhimes with the following line.

228. *Mammon spake.*] Mammon's character is so fully drawn in the first book, that the poet adds nothing to it in the second. We were before told, that he was the first who taught mankind to ransack the earth for gold and silver, and that he was the architect of Pandemonium, or the infernal palace, where the evil Spirits were to meet in council. His speech in this book is every way suitable to so depraved a character. How proper is that reflection, of their being unable to taste the happiness of Heaven were they actually there, in the mouth of one who while he was in Heaven, is said to have had his mind dazzled with the outward pomps and glories of the place, and to have been more intent on the riches of the

pavement, than on the beatific vision! I shall also leave the reader to judge how agreeable the following sentiments are to the same character.

——This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst, &c. *Addison.*

234. *The former vain to hope*] That is to unthrone the king of Heaven, *argues as vain the latter*, that is to regain our own lost right.

263. ——*How oft amidst*
Thick clouds and dark, &c.] Imitated from Psal. xviii. 11. 13. *He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters, and thick clouds of the skies. The Lord also thundered in the Heavens, and the Highest gave his voice, hailstones and coals of fire.* And from Psal. xcvii. 2. *Clouds and darkness are round about him*, &c.

273. *What can Heaven shew more?*] It is admirably suited to the character of an inferior Spirit, such as Mammon, to estimate greatness by magnificence.

274. *Our torments also may in length of time*
Become our elements, &c.] Enforcing the same argument that Belial had urged before, ver. 217; and indeed Mammon's whole speech is to the same purpose as Belial's; the argument is improved and carried farther, only with such difference as is suitable to their different characters.

278. *The sensible of pain*] The sense of pain: an adjective used for a substantive. *Hume.*

279. *To peaceful counsels.*] There are some things wonderfully fine in these speeches of the infernal Spirits, and in the different arguments, so suited to their different characters; but they have wandered from the point in debate, as is too common in other assemblies. Satan had declared in i. 660.

Open or understood must be resolv'd.

Which was approved and confirmed by the whole host of Angels.

We now debate:

Moloch speaks to the purpose, and declares for open war, ver. 51.

My sentence is for open war:

But Belial argues against war open or concealed, ver. 187.

War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
My voice dissuades; &c.

Mammon carries on the same arguments, and is for *dismissing quite all thoughts of war*. So that the question is changed in the course of the debate, whether through the inattention or intention of the author it is not easy to say.

281.——*with regard*
Of what we are and where.] It is with regard to our present condition and place.

285.——*as when hollow rocks retain*, &c.] Virgil compares the assent given by the assembly of the Gods to Juno's speech, Æn. x. 96. to the rising wind, which our author assimilates to its decreasing murmurs. *Hume.*

The conduct of both poets is equally just and proper. The intent of Juno's speech was to rouse and inflame the assembly of the Gods, and the effect of it is therefore properly compared by Virgil to the *rising* wind: but the design of Mammon's speech is to quiet and compose the infernal assembly, and the effect of this therefore is as properly compared by Milton to the wind *falling* after a tempest.

294.—*the sword of Michaël*] The words *Michael*, *Raphael*, &c. are sometimes pronounced as of two syllables, and sometimes they are made to consist of three. When they are to be pronounced as of three syllables, we have taken care to distinguish them in printing thus, *Michaël*, *Raphaël*.

302. *A pill'ar of state*;] *Pillar* is to be pronounced contractedly as of one syllable, or two short ones; and again in Book xii. 202, 203. The metaphor is plain and easy enough to be understood; we have the same expression in Shakepear, 2 Hen. vi. act i.

Brave Peer of England, *pillars of state.*

305. *Majestic though in ruin*:] It is amazing how Dr. Bentley can sometimes mistake the most obvious passages. These words are to be joined in construction with *his face*, and not with *princely counsel*, as the Doctor imagined.

630. *With Atlantean shoulders*] A metaphor to express his vast capacity. Atlas was so great an astronomer, that he is said to have borne Heaven upon his shoulders. The whole picture from ver. 299 to the end of the paragraph is admirable.

309. *Or summer's noon-tide air,*] *Noon-tide* is the same as *noon-time*, when in hot countries there is hardly a breath of wind stirring, and men and beasts, by reason of the intense heat, retire to shade and rest. This is the custom of Italy particularly, where our author lived some time.

309.——*while thus he spake.*] *Beëlzebub*, who is reckoned the second in dignity that fell, and is, in the first book, the second that awakened out of the trance, and confers with Satan on the situation of their affairs, maintains his rank in the book now before us. There is a wonderful majesty described in his rising up to speak. He acts as a kind of moderator between the two opposite parties, and purposes a third undertaking, which the whole assembly gives into. The motion he makes of detaching one of their bodies in search of a new world, is grounded upon a project devised by Satan, and cursorily proposed by him in the following lines of the first book.

Space may produce new worlds, &c. ver. 650.

The reader may observe how just it was not to omit in the first book the project upon which the whole poem turns: as also the prince of the fallen Angels was the only proper person to give it birth, and that the next to him in dignity was the fittest to second and support it. There is besides, I think, something wonderfully beautiful, and very apt to affect the reader's imagination, in this ancient prophecy or report in Heaven, concerning the creation of Man. Nothing could show more the dignity of the species, than this tradition which ran of them before their existence. They are represented to have been the talk of Heaven, before they were created. Virgil, in compliment to the Roman Commonwealth, makes the heroes of it appear in their state of pre-existence; but Milton does a far greater honour to mankind in general, as he gives us a glimpse of them even before they are in being. *Addison.*

332. *Vouchsaf'd*] Milton constantly writes this verb *voutsafe*, and this is rather of a softer sound, but the other seems more agreable to the etymology of the word.

360.—*this place may lie expos'd*
The utmost border of his kingdom, left
To their defence who hold it:] It has been objected, that

there is a contradiction between this part of Beëlzebub's speech, and what he says afterwards, speaking of the same thing and of a messenger proper to be sent in search of this new world, ver. 410.

—what strength, what art can then
Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
Through the strict senteries and stations thick
Of Angels watching round?

How can this earth be said to lie exposed, &c. and yet to be strictly guarded by stationed Angels? The objection is very ingenious: but it is not said that the earth *doth* lie exposed, but only that it *may lie* exposed: and it may be considered, that the design of Beëlzebub is different in these different speeches; in the former, where he is encouraging the assembly to undertake an expedition against this world, he says things to *lessen* the difficulty and danger; but in the latter, when they have determined upon the expedition, and are consulting of a proper person to employ in it, then he says things to *magnify* the difficulty and danger, to make them more cautious in their choice.

406.—*the palpable obscure*] It is remarkable in our author's stile, that he often uses adjectives as substances, and substantives again as adjectives. Here are two adjectives, the latter of which is used for a substantive, as again in ver. 409, *the vast abrupt*. And sometimes there are two substantives, the former of which is used for an adjective, as the *ocean stream*, i. 202. *the bullion dross*, i. 704. Milton often enriches his language in this manner.

409.—*ere he arrive*
The happy isle?] The earth hanging in the sea of air, like a happy, or *fortunate* island, as the name is. *Ere he arrive the happy isle*; so the word *arrive* is used by our author in the Preface to *the Judgment of Martin Bucer*, p. 276. Edit. 1738. "And he, if our things here below *arrive him* where he is," &c: and again in his *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, p. 553, "Let him also forbear force——lest a worse woe *arrive him*." Shakespear expresses himself in the same manner, 3 Hen. vi. act v.

—those powers, that the Queen

Hath rais'd in Gallia, *have arriv'd our coast.*

429.———*unmov'd*] With any of those dangers which deterred others.

430. *O progeny of Heav'n,*] Virg. Ecl. iv. 7.

432. ---*long is the way*
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;] He had Virgil in mind, Æn. vi. 128.

But to return, and view the chearful skies,
In this the task, and mighty labour lies: *Dryden.*

as in what follows of the fire immuring them round *ninefold*, and of *the gates of burning adamant*, he alludes to what Virgil says in the same book, v. 439, 552, of Styx flowing nine times round the damn'd, and of the gates of Hell.

434.—*this huge convex of fire,*] This huge vault of fire, bending down on all sides round us. *Convex* is spoken properly of the exterior surface of a globe, and *concave* of the interior surface which is hollow: but the poets do not always speak thus exactly, but use them promiscuously; and hence in Virgil *cæli convexa* and *supera convexa* in several places. And what is here the *convex of fire* is afterwards called the *fiery concave*, ver. 635.

439. *Of unessential Night*] *Unessential*, void of being; darkness approaching nearest to, and being the best resemblance of non-entity. *Hume.*

454.—*Wherefore do I assume*, &c.] Our author has here caught the spirit of Homer in that divine speech of Sarpedon to Glaucus, Iliad. xii. 310.

Why boast we, Glaucus, our extended reign,
Where Xanthus' streams enrich the Lycian plain,
Our numerous herds that range the fruitful field,
And hills where vines their purple harvest yield,
Our foaming bowls with purer nectar crown'd,
Our feasts enhanc'd with music's sprightly sound?
Why on those shores are we with joy survey'd,
Admir'd as heroes, and as Gods obey'd?
Unless great acts superior merit prove,
And vindicate the bounteous pow'rs above.
'Tis our's, the dignity they give, to grace;
The first in valour, as the first in place, &c. *Pope.*

This is one of the noblest and best spirited speeches in the whole Iliad. Is it not a probable presumption, that Milton (whose dislike to kings is very well known) by putting these sentiments into the mouth of the king of Hell, intended an oblique satire upon the kings of the Earth, whose practice is so often directly contrary to them?

465.——*this enterprize*
None shall partake with me.] The abruptness of Satan's conclusion is very well expressed by the speech breaking off in the middle of the verse.

476 *Their rising all at once was as the sound*
Of thunder heard remote.] The rising of this great assembly is described in a very sublime and poetical manner. *Addison.*

489.——*while the north wind sleeps,*] That wind generally clears the sky, and disperses the clouds. Every body must be wonderfully delighted with this similitude. The images are not more pleasing in nature, than they are refreshing to the reader after his attention to the foregoing debate. We have a simile of the same kind in Homer, but applied upon a very different occasion, Iliad. xvi. 297.

So when thick clouds inwrap the mountain's head,
O'er Heav'n's expanse like one black cieling spread;
Sudden the Thund'rer with a flashing ray,
Bursts through the darkness, and lets down the day:
The hills shine out, the rocks in prospect rise,
And streams, and vales, and forests strike the eyes,
The smiling scene wide opens to the sight,
And all th' unmeasur'd æther flames with light.

Mr. Pope translates it as if Jupiter lighten'd, which makes it a horrid rather than a pleasing scene; but Homer says only that he removed the thick clouds to the mountain top, and so it is explained in the note of Pope's Homer, which shows that the translation and notes were not always made by the same person. We have a simile too, much of the same nature, in a Sonnet of Spenser, as Mr. Thyer hath observed. Sonnet 40.

Mark when she smiles with amiable chear,
And tell me whereto can you liken it:
When on each eye-lid sweetly do appear
An hundred Graces as in shade to sit.

Likest it seemeth, in my simple wit,
Unto the fair sun-shine in summer's day;
That when a dreadful storm away is flit,
Through the broad world doth spread his goodly ray:
At sight whereof each bird that sits on spray,
And every beast that to his den was fled,
Come forth afresh out of their late dismay,
And to the light lift up their drooping head.
So my storm beaten heart likewise is chear'd,
With that sun-shine, when cloudy looks are clear'd.

489. ——o'er spread.

Heav'n's chearful face,] Spenser, Faery Queen, b. ii cant. xii. st. 34.

And *Heav'n's chearful face* enveloped. *Thyer.*

494.—*bleat.ng herds*] Dr. Bentley reads *flocks*, and says that *herd* is a word proper to cattle that do not *bleat*. But *herd* is originally the common name for a number of any sort of cattle: hence *Shepherd*, that is *Sheepherdsman*, see vii. 462. *Pearce.*

—— *bleating herds* is much such an expression as Spenser's *fleecy cattle:* in *Colin Clout's come home again.*

496. *O shame to men!* &c.] This reflection will appear the more pertinent and natural, when one considers the contentious age in which Milton lived and wrote. *Thyer.*

512. *A globe of fiery Seraphim*] A *globe* signifies here a battalion in circle surrounding him, as Virgil says, Æn. x. 373.

513.—*horrent arms.*] *Horrent* includes the idea both of terrible and prickly, set up like the bristles of a wild boar. So Virgil in Æn. i. and x.

517.—*the sounding alchemy*] Dr. Bentley reads *orichalc:* but since he allows that *gold and silver coin, as well as brass and pewter, are alchemy, being mixed metals*, for that reason *alchemy* will do here; especially being joined to the epithet *sounding*, which determines it to mean a trumpet, made perhaps of the mixed metals of brass, silver, &c. *Pearce.*

Alchemy, the name of that art which is the sublimer part of chemistry, the transmutation of metals. Milton names no particular metal, but leaves the imagination at large, any metal possible to be produced by that mysterious art; it is a metonymy, the efficient for the effect. *Richardson.*

527.—*till his great chief return.*] So it is in the first edition: but in the second and some others it is, *till* this *great chief return*; which is manifestly an error of the press.

528. *Part on the plain*, &c.] The diversions of the fallen Angels, with the particular account of their place of habitation, are described with great pregnancy of thought and copiousness of invention. The diversions are every way suitable to Beings, who had nothing left them but strength and knowledge misapplied. Such are their contentions at the race and in the feats of arms, with their entertainments in the following lines,

Others with vast Typhœan rage more fell, *&c.*

Their music is employed in celebrating their own criminal exploits, and their discourse in sounding the unfathomable depth of fate, freewill, and fore-knowledge. *Addison.*

Part contend on the plain in running, or in the air in flying, as at the famous Olympian or Pythian games in Greece, while another part contend on horseback or in chariot races, *Part curb their fiery steeds*, &c. These warlike diversions of the fallen Angels during the absence of Satan, resemble the military exercises of the Myrmidons during the absence of their chief from the war, Homer's Iliad. ii. 774, *&c.* only the images are raised in proportion to the nature of the Beings who are here described. The author may have had an eye to the diversions and entertainments of the departed heroes in Virgil's Elysium, Æn. vi. 642.

Their aery limbs in sports they exercise,
And on the green contend the wrestler's prize.

531.——*or shun the goal*
With rapid wheels,] Plainly taken from Horace, Od. i. lib. i. v. 4.

Metaque fervidis evitata rotis.

But with good judgment he says *rapid* not *fervid*: because in these Hell-games both the wheels and the burning marle they drove on were *fervid* even before the race. *Bentley.*

539. *Others with vast Typhœan rage*, &c.] Others with rage like that of Typhœus or Typhon, one of the giants who warred against Heaven, of whom see before i. 199. The contrast here is very remarkable. Some are employed in sportive games and exercises, while others rend up both rocks

and hills, and make wild uproar. Some again are singing in a valley, while others are discoursing and arguing on a hill; and these are represented as *sitting*, while others march different ways to discover that infernal world. Every company is drawn in contrast both to that which goes before, and that which follows.

542. *As when Alcides*, &c.] As when Hercules named Alcides from his grandfather Alcæus, *from Oechalia crown'd with conquest*, after his return from the conquest of Oechalia, a city of Bœotia, having brough him from thence Iöle the king's daughter, *felt the envenomed robe*, which was sent him by Dejanira in jealousy of his new mistress, and stuck so close to his skin that he could not pull off the one without pulling off the other, *and tore through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines*; *and Lichas*, who had brought him the poisoned robe, *from the top of Oeta*, a mountain in the borders of Thessaly, *threw into the Euboic sea*, the sea near Euboea, an island in the Archipelago.

Milton in this simile falls vastly short of his usual sublimity and propriety. How much does the image of Alcides tearing up Thessalian pines, &c. sink below that of the Angels rending up both rocks and hills, and riding the air in whirlwind!

554. *Suspended Hell*,] The effect of their singing is somewhat like that of Orpheus in Hell, Virg. Georg. iv. 481.

E'en from the depths of Hell the damn'd advance,
Th' infernal mansions nodding seem to dance;
The gaping three-mouth'd dog forgets to snarl,
The Furies hearken, and their snakes uncurl; *Dryden.*

555.——*In discourse more sweet*] Our poet so justly prefers discourse to the highest harmony, that he has seated his reasoning Angels on a hill as high and elevated as their thoughts, leaving the songsters in their humble valley. Though he had spent much time in Italy, the mother of operas, he was no admirer of musical nonsense.

560. *Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute*] The turn of the words here is admirable, and very well expresses the wanderings and mazes of their discourse.

565. *Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy:*] *Good and evil*, and de finibus bonorum et malorum, &c. were more parti-

cularly the subjects of disputation among the philosophers and sophists of old; *predestination*, *free will*, &c. were among the school-men and divines of later times. Milton seems to have considered such enquiries as useless, and probably for two reasons, first, that it is impossible on such subjects to attain truth; secondly, because if attained, it might not improve conduct and happiness.

572. *The dismal worm,*] The several circumstances in the description of Hell are finely imagined; as the four rivers which disgorge themselves into the sea of fire, the extremes of cold and heat, and the river of oblivion. The monstrous animals produced in that infernal world are represented by a single line, which gives us a more horrid idea of them, than a much longer description of them would have done. This episode of the fallen Spirits and their place of habitation comes in very happily to unbend the mind of the reader from its attention to the debate. An ordinary poet would indeed have spun out so many circumstances to a great length, and by that means have weakened, instead of illustrated, the principal fable. *Addison.*

577. *Abhorred Styx*, &c.] The Greeks reckon up five rivers in Hell, and call them after the names of the noxious springs and rivers in their own country. Our poet follows their example both as to the number and the names of these infernal rivers, and excellently describes their nature and properties, with the explanation of their names, *Styx* so named from a Greek word that signifies to *hate* and *abhor*; *Acheron*, *flowing with grief*; and *Cocytus named of lamentation*, because derived from a Greek word signifying to *weep* and *lament*: as *Phlegethon* is from another Greek word signifying *to burn*; and supposes *a burning lake*, agreeably to Scripture, that often mentions *the lake of fire*; and he makes these four rivers to flow from four different quarters and empty themselves into this burning lake, which gives us a much greater idea than any of the Heathen poets have done. Besides these there is a fifth river called *Lethe*, which name in Greek signifies *forgetfulness*, and its waters are said to occasion that quality.

The river of oblivion is rightly placed *far off* from the rivers of hatred, sorrow, lamentation, and rage.

592.——*that Serbonian bog*] Serbonis was a lake 200 fur-

longs in length and 1000 in compass, between the ancient mountain Casius and Damiata a city of Egypt on one of the more eastern mouths of the Nile. It was surrounded on all sides by hills of loose sand, which carried into the water by high winds so thickened the lake, as not to be distinguished from part of the continent, where whole armies have been swallowed up. Read Herod. l. iii. and Luc. Phar. viii. 539, &c.

603.——*thence hurried back to fire.*] This circumstance of the damned's suffering the extremes of heat and cold by turns is finely invented to aggravate the horror of the description. There is a fine passage likewise in Shakespear, where the punishment after death is supposed to consist in extreme heat or extreme cold; but these extremes are not made alternate, and to be suffered both in their turns, as Milton has described them, and thereby has greatly refined and improved the thought. Measure for Measure, act iii.

Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick ribbed ice, &c.

609.——*and so near the brink;*] This is added as a farther aggravation of their misery, that though they were *so near the brink*, so near the brim and surface of the water, yet they could not taste one drop of it. *Of itself the water flies their taste*, and serves only to *tantalize* them. This is a fine allegory to shew that there is no forgetfulness in Hell. Memory makes a part of the punishment of the damned, and reflection but increases their misery.

621. *Rocks, caves,* &c.] How exactly is the tediousness and difficulty of their journey painted in this passage; and particularly in this rough verse, which necessarily takes up so much time and labour in pronouncing! *Greenwood.*

628. *Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimæra's dire.*] Our author fixes all these monsters in Hell, in imitation of Virgil. Æn. vi. 287.

634. *Now shaves with level wing the deep,*] Alluding to the swallow who skims just over the surface of the water without seeming to move her wings.

636. *As when far off at sea*, &c.] Satan *tow'ring high* is here compared to a fleet of Indiamen discovered at a distance as it were *hanging in the clouds*, as a fleet at a distance seems to do. Milton in his similitudes (as is the practice of Homer and Virgil too) after he has showed the common resemblance, often takes the liberty of wandering into some unresembling circumstances; which have no other relation to the comparison, than that it gave him the hint, and as it were set fire to the train of his imagination. This fleet is a fleet of Indiamen, because coming from so long a voyage, it is the fitter to be compared to Satan in this expedition; and these exotic names give a less vulgar cast to the similitude than places in our channel and in our own seas would have done.

645. *And thrice threefold the gates*;] The gates had nine folds, nine plates, nine linings; as Homer and the other poets make their heroes shields, to have several coverings of various materials for the greater strength.

648.——*Before the gates they sat*, &c.] Here begins the famous allegory of Milton, which is a sort of paraphrase on that text of the Apostle St. James, i. 15.

The flight of Satan to the gates of Hell is finely imagined. The allegory of Sin and Death is a very finished piece in its kind, when not considered as a part of an epic poem. The genealogy of the several persons is contrived with great delicay; Sin is the daugnter of Satan, and Death the offspring of Sin. The incestuous mixture between Sin and Death produces those monsters and Hell-hounds, which from time to time enter into their mother, and tear the bowels of her who gave them birth. These are the terrors of an evil conscience, and the proper fruits of Sin, which naturally rise from the apprehensions of Death.

It will be observed how naturally the three persons concerned in this allegory are tempted by one common interest to enter into a confederacy together, and how properly Sin is made the portress of Hell, and the only being that can open the gates to that world of tortures. The descriptive part of this allegory is likewise very strong, and full of sublime ideas. The figure of Death, the regal crown upon his head, his menace of Satan, his advancing to the combat, the outcry at his birth, are circumstances too noble to be past over

in silence, and extremely suitable to this *king of terrors.* I need not mention the justness of thought which is observed in the generation of these several symbolical persons; that Sin was produced upon the first revolt of Satan, that Death appeared soon after he was cast into Hell, and that the terrors of conscience were conceived at the gates of this place of torments. The description of the gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of Milton's spirit. *Addison.*

Bishop Atterbury declared this allegory to be superior to Homer.

660. *Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea*] For Circe having poisoned that part of the sea where Scylla used to bathe, the next time Scylla bathed, her lower parts were changed into dogs, *in the sea that parts Calabria,* the farthest part of Italy towards the Mediterranean, *from the hoarse Trinacrian shore,* that is from Sicily, which was formerly called Trinacria, from its three promontories lying in the form of a triangle; and this shore may well be called *hoarse* not only by reason of a tempestuous sea breaking upon it, but likewise on account of the noise occasioned by the eruptions of Mount Ætna.

665.——*the lab'ring moon*] The Ancients believed the moon greatly affected by magical practices, and the Latin poets call the eclipses of the moon *labores lunæ.* The three foregoing lines, and the former part of this, contain a short account of what was once believed, and in Milton's time not so ridiculous as now. *Richardson.*

666. *The other shape,* &c.] This poetical description of Death our author has pretty evidently borrowed from Spenser, Faery Queen, b. vii. cant. vii. st. 46.

But after all came Life, and lastly Death,
Death with most grim and grisly visage seen.
Yet is he nought but parting of the breath,
Ne ought to see, but like a shade to ween,
Unbodied, unsoul'd, unheard, unseen. *Thyer.*

677.——*God and his Son except,*
Created thing nought valued he nor shunn'd;] This appears at first sight to reckon God and his Son among created things, but *except* is used here with the same liberty as *but,* ver. 333, and 336, and Milton has a like passage in his prose works, p. 277. Edit. Tol. *No place in Heaven and Earth, except Hell.*

683.——*miscreated*] We have been told that Milton first coined the word *miscreated*, but Spenser used it before him, as Faery Queen, book i. cant. ii. st. 3.

693. *Conjur'd against the Highest,*] Banded and leagued together against the most High. Of the Latin *conjurare*, to bind one another by oath to be true and faithful in a design undertaken.

700. *False fugitive,*] He is here called *false* because he had called himself a *Spirit of Heaven.* *Pearce.*

708.——*and like a comet burned,* &c.] But this comet is so large as to *fire the length of* the constellation Ophiuchus or Anguitenens, or Serpentarius as it is commonly called, a length of about 40 degrees *in the arctic sky*, or the northern hemisphere, *and from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war.* Poetry delights in omens, prodigies, and such wonderful events as were supposed to follow upon the appearance of comets, eclipses, and the like.

715.——*Heaven's artillery*] Thunder. Juv. sat. xiii. 9.

Quicquid habent telorum armamentaria cœli. *Hume.*

716. *Over the Caspian,*] That sea being particularly noted for storms and tempests. So Horace, Od. ii. ix. 2.

722.——*so great a foe:*] Jesus Christ. Heb. ii. 14.

737. *So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange*] The change in the position of the words *so strange* in this verse has a peculiar beauty in it, which Dr. Bentley's alteration of the latter *strange* into *new* utterly destroys.

So strange thy outcry, and thy words so *new.*

How flat, lifeless, and unharmonious, compared with the common reading!

758. *Out of thy head I sprang:*] Sin is rightly made to spring out of the head of Satan, as Wisdom or Minerva did out of Jupiter's.

786.——*brandishing his fatal dart*] So Virgil of Æneas going to kill Turnus, Æn. xii. 919.

789. *From all her caves, and back resounded*] An imitation of Virgil, Æn. ii. 53. *I fled and cryed out Death——and back resounded Death.*

796.——*as thou saw'st,*] One would think it should be *as thou seest*, but we must suppose that now at this time these monsters were crept into her womb, and lay there unseen.

809.——*so fate pronounc'd.*] The Heathen poets make Jupiter superior to fate: but Milton with great propriety makes the fallen Angels and Sin here attribute events to fate, without any mention of the Supreme Being.

817. *Dear Daughter,*] Satan had now learned *his lore* or lesson, and the reader will observe how artfully he changes his language; he had said before, ver. 745, that he had never seen *sight more detestable*; but now it is *dear daughter*, and *my fair son.*

842. *Wing silently the buxom air,*] *Buxom*, vulgarly understood for merry, wanton; but it properly signifies flexible, yielding, from a Saxon word signifying to bend.

868. *The Gods who live at ease,*] 'Tis Sin who speaks here, and she speaks as an Epicurean. *Richardson.*

871. *Thus saying, from her side,* &c.] It is one great part of a poet's art to know to describe things in general, and when to be very circumstantial and particular. Milton has in these lines showed his judgment in this respect. The first opening of the gates of Hell by Sin is an incident of that importance, that every reader's attention must be greatly excited, and consequently as highly gratified by the minute detail of particulars our author has given us. It may with justice be farther observed, that in no part of the poem the versification is better accommodated to the sense.

881.—— *and on their hinges grate harsh thunder,*] How much stronger and more poetical is this than Virgil's Æn. i. 449.

882.——*the lowest bottom shook*
Of Erebus.] The most profound depth of Hell.

894——*where eldest Night*
And Chaos, &c.] All the ancient naturalists, philosophers, and poets, hold that Chaos was the first principle of all things; and the poets particularly make *Night* a Goddess, and represent *Night* or darkness and *Chaos* or confusion as exercising uncontrolled dominion from the beginning.

Our author's system of the universe is in short, that the empyrean Heaven and Chaos and darkness were before the creation, Heaven above and Chaos beneath; and then upon the rebellion of the Angels *first Hell* was formed out of Chaos *stretching far and wide beneath*; and afterwards *Heaven and Earth, another world, hanging over the realm of Chaos, and won from his dominion.*

Ovid, in his description of Chaos, has lessened the grandeur by puerile conceits and quaint antitheses: every thing in Milton is great and masterly.

902. *Light arm'd or heavy,*] He continues the warlike metaphor; some of them are *light-arm'd or heavy*, levis or gravis armaturæ. *Hume.*

905.——*and poise*] Give weight or ballast to. Pliny speaks of certain birds, who, when a storm arises poise themselves with little stones, l. xi. c. 10. Virgil has the same thought of his bees, Georg. iv. 194. *Richardson.*

927.——*his sail-broad vans*] As the air and water are both fluids, the metaphors taken from the one are often applied to the other, and flying is compared to sailing, and sailing to flying. This mode of speaking is adopted by Virgil among the ancients, and Spenser among the moderns.

938.——*that fury stay'd*, &c.] That fiery rebuff ceased, quenched and put out by a soft quicksand: *Syrtis* is explained *by neither sea nor good dry land*, exactly agreeing with Lucan, Phar. ix. 304.

941.——*half on foot,*
Half flying;] Spenser, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. xi. st. 8.
Half flying, and half footing in his haste.

943.—*As when a gryphon*, &c.] Herodotus and other authors relate, that there were continual wars between the gryphons and Arimaspians about gold, the gryphons guarding it and Arimaspians taking it whenever they had opportunity. See Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 2.

948. *Over bog or steep*, &c.] Dr. Bentley's reading is not amiss, *O'er bog*, o'er *steep*, &c. The difficulty of Satan's voyage is very well expressed by so many monosyllables as follows, which cannot be pronounced but slowly, and with frequent pauses. Spenser in the same manner represents the distress of his Redcrosse Knight in his encounter with the old dragon, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. ii. st 28.

Faint, weary, sore, embroiled, grieved, brent,
With heat, toil, wounds, arms, smart, and inward fire.

956.—*the nethermost abyss*] B. rejects *nethermost* here, and in ver. 969, and charges Milton's blindness as the cause of his forgetting himself and being inconsistent. But it is the Doctor that mistakes, and not the Poet: for though the *throne of*

Chaos was above Hell, and consequently a part of the *abyss* was so, yet a part of that *abyss* was at the same time far below Hell; so far below, as that, when Satan went from Hell on his voyage, he fell in that *abyss* 10,000 fathom deep, ver. 934; and the poet there adds, that if it had not been for an accident, he had been falling down there to this hour. *Pearce.*

964. *Orcus and Ades,*] *Orcus* is generally by the poets taken for Pluto, as *Ades* for any dark place. These terms are of a very vague signification, and employed by the ancient poets accordingly. Milton has personized them, and put them in the court of Chaos.

964.——*and the dreaded name*
Of Demogorgon;] There was a notion among the Ancients of a certain deity, whose very name they supposed capable of producing the most terrible effects, and which they therefore dreaded to pronounce. This deity is mentioned as of great power in incantations. Thus Erictho is introduced, threatning the Infernal Powers for being too slow in their obedience, by Lucan, Phar. vi. 744.

Yet, am I yet, ye sullen fiends, obey'd?
Or must I call your master to my aid?
At whose dread name the trembling furies quake,
Hell stands abash'd, and earth's foundations shake?
Who views the Gorgons with intrepid eyes,
And your inviolable flood defies? *Rowe.*

Demogorgon some think a corruption of Demiurgus; others imagine him to be so called, as being able to look upon the Gorgon, that turned all other spectators to stone, and to this Lucan seems to allude, when he says

———qui Gorgona cernit apertam.

Spenser too mentions this infernal deity, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. v. st. 22; and takes notice also of the dreadful effects of his name, b. i. cant. i. st. 37.

A bold bad man, that dar'd to call by name
Great *Gorgon*, prince of darkness and dead night,
At which Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to flight.

965.—*Rumour next and Chance,*] In Satan's voyage through the Chaos there are several imaginary persons described as residing in that immense waste of matter. This may perhaps be conformable to the taste of those critics who are

pleased with nothing in a poet which has not life and manners ascribed to it; but for my own part, I am pleased most with those passages in this description which carry in them a greater measure of probability, and are such as might possibly have happened. Of this kind is his first mounting in the smoke that rises from the infernal pit, his falling into a cloud of nitre and the like combustible materials, that by their explosion still hurried him forward in his voyage; his springing upward like a pyramid of fire, with his laborious passage through that confusion of elements which the poet calls

The womb of nature, and perhaps her grave. *Addison.*

1005.—*Encroach'd on still through your intestin'd broils*] *Our* in some editions is here necessarily changed to *your.*

1004.—*link'd in a golden chain*] There is mention made in Homer of Jupiter's golden chain, by which he can draw up the Gods and the earth and sea and the whole universe, but they cannot draw him down. You may see the passage at large in the beginning of the 8th book of the Iliad; and thus translated by Pope.

League all your forces then, ye Pow'rs above,
Join all, and try th' omnipotence of Jove?
Let down our golden, everlasting chain,
Whose strong embrace holds heav'n, and earth, and main:
Strive all of mortal or immortal birth,
To drag by this the Thund'rer down to earth:
Ye strive in vain! If I but stretch this hand,
I heave the Gods, the ocean, and the land,
I fix the chain to great Olympus height,
And the vast world hangs trembling in my sight.

Pope.

It is most probably and ingeniously conjectured that by this golden chain may be understood the superior attractive force of the sun, whereby he continues unmoved, and draws all the rest of the planets toward him.

1009. *Havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.*] This is very agreeable to that character of Chaos by Lucan, Phar. vi. 696.

1011. *But glad that now his sea should find a shore,*] A metaphor to express his joy that now his travel and voyage should end, somewhat like that of one of the Ancients who read-

ing a tedious book and coming near to the end, cryed *I see land, Terram video.*

1017.—*than when Argo pass'd*, &c.] The first long ship ever seen in Greece, in which Jason and his companions sailed to Colchis to fetch the golden fleece. *Through Bosporus*, the Thracian Bosporus or the straits of Constantinople, or the Channel of the Black Sea. *Betwixt the justling rocks*, two rocks at the entrance into the Euxine or Black Sea, called in Greek *Symplegades*, and by Juvenal *concurrentia saxa*, sat. xv. 19; which Milton very well translates *the justling rocks*, because they were so near, that at a distance they seemed to open and shut again, and justle one another, as the ship varied its course this way and that as usual. Plin. Nat. Hist. i. 4.

1019. *Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunn'd*
Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool steer'd.] These two verses Dr. Bentley would throw quite away. *Larboard* (says he) is abominable in heroic poetry; but Dryden thought it not unfit to be employed there: and Milton in other places has used nautical terms. But the Doctor has two objections against the sense of these verses. First, that *larboard* or left hand is a mistake here for *starboard* or right hand, *Charybdis* being to the *starboard* of *Ulysses* when he sailed through these straits: This is very true, but it does not affect what Milton here says; for the sense may be, not that Ulysses shunned *Charybdis* situated on the *larboard* of his ship as he was sailing; but that *Ulysses* sailing on the *larboard* (to the left hand where Scylla was) did thereby shun Charybdis, which was the truth of the case. The objection is, that Scylla was no *whirlpool*, which yet she is here supposed to have been: but Virgil (whom Milton follows oftener than he does Homer) describes Scylla as *naves in saxa trahentem*, Æn. iii. 425; and what is that less than calling it a *whirlpool?*

1023. *But he once past*, &c.] Dr Bentley would throw out here eleven verses, as if they were an interpolation: but the foregoing words, containing a repetition of what went before them, *with difficulty and labour he*, have no force nor propriety, unless it be added (as it is in these verses) that some others afterwards went this way with more ease. *Peace,*

1049. *With opal towers*] With towers of precious stones. *Opal* is a stone of diverse colours, partaking of the carbuncle's faint fire, the amethyst's bright purple, and the emerald's green.

1052. *This pendent world, in bigness as a star*
Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.] By *this pendent world* is not meant the Earth; but the new creation, Heaven and Earth, the whole orb of fixed stars immensely bigger than the Earth, a mere point in comparison. This is sure from what Chaos had lately said, ver. 1004.

Now lately Heav'n and Earth, another world,
Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain.

Besides, Satan did not see the Earth yet; he was afterwards surprised *at the sudden view of all this world at once*, iii. 542, and wandered long on the outside of it; till at last he saw our sun, and learned there, of the Arch-Angel Uriel, where the Earth and Paradise were. See iii. 722. *This pendent world* therefore must mean the whole world, the new created universe; and *beheld far off* it appeared in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than *a star of smallest magnitude*.

BOOK III.

HORACE advises a poet to consider thoroughly the nature and force of his genius. Milton seems to have known perfectly well wherein his strength lay, and has therefore chosen a subject entirely conformable to those talents, of which he was master. As his genius was wonderfully turned to the sublime, his subject is the noblest that could have entered into the thoughts of man. Every thing that is truly great and astonishing has a place in it. The whole system of the intellectual world; the Chaos and the Creation; Heaven, Earth, and Hell, enter into the constitution of his poem. Having in the first and second books represented the infernal world with all its horrors, the thread of his fable naturally leads him into the opposite regions of bliss and glory. *Addison.*

1. *Hail holy Light*, &c.] Our author's address to Light, and lamentation of his own blindness, may perhaps be censured as an excrescence or digression not agreeable to the rules of epic poetry; but yet this is so charming a part of the poem, that the most critical reader, I imagine, cannot wish it were omitted.

3. ——*since God is light,*
And—in unapproached light
Dwelt——] From 1 John i. 5.

11. *The rising world of waters dark and deep,*] For the world was only in a state of fluidity, when the light was created; as Moses says, Gen. i. 2, 3.

12. *Won from the void and formless infinite.*] *Void* must not here be understood as *emptiness*, for Chaos is described full of matter; but *void*, as destitute of any formed being, void as the earth was when first created *Richardson.*

17. *With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre,* &c.] Orpheus made a hymn to Night, which is still extant; he also wrote of the creation out of Chaos. See Apoll. Rhodius i. 493.

25 *So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their orbs,*
Or dim suffusion veil'd.] *Drop serene* or gutta serena. It was formerly thought that that sort of blindness was an incurable extinction or quenching of sight by a transparent, watery, cold humour distilling upon the optic nerve, though making very little change in the eye to appearance, if any; it is now known to be most commonly an obstruction in the capillary vessels of that nerve, and curable in some cases.

30.——*the flowry brooks beneath,*] Kedron and Siloah. He still was pleased to study the beauties of the ancient poets, but his highest delight was in the songs of Sion, in the holy Scriptures.

35. *Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides.*] *Mæonides* is Homer, so called from the name of his father Mæon: and no wonder our poet desires to equal him in renown, whose writings he so much studied, admired, and imitated. The character of *Thamyris* is not so well known and established: but Homer mentions him in the Iliad, ii. 595; and Eustathius ranks him with Orpheus and Musæus, the most celebrated poets and musicians. That lustful challenge of his to the nine Muses was probably nothing more than a fable invented to express his violent love and affection for poetry. Plato mentions his hymns with honour in the beginning of his eighth book of Laws, and towards the conclusion of the last book of his Republic feigns upon the principles of transmigration, that the soul of Thamyris passed into a nightingale. He was a Thracian by birth, and invented the Doric mood or measure, according to Pliny, l. vii. c. 57. Plutarch in his treatise of Music says that he had the finest voice of any of his time, and wrote a poem of the war of the Titans with the Gods: and from Suidas we learn that he composed likewise a poem of the generation of the world, which being subjects near of kin to Milton's might probably occasion the mention of him in this place.

36. *And Tiresias and Phineus prophets old.*] The one a

Theban, the other a king of Arcadia, famous blind prophets and poets of antiquity, for the word *prophet* sometimes comprehends both characters, as *vates* does in Latin.

37.——*that voluntary move*
Harmonious numbers; &c.] The reader will observe the flowing of the numbers here with all the ease and harmony of the finest voluntary: and this harmony appears to greater advantage from the roughness of some of the preceding verses, which is an artifice frequently practised by Milton, to be careless of his numbers in some places, the better to set off the musical flow of those which immediately follow.

49.——————*ras'd*,] Of the Latin *radere*; the Romans, who writ on waxed tables with iron stiles, when they struck out a word, did *tabulam radere* rase it out. Light and the blessings of it were never drawn in more lively colours and finer strokes; nor was the sad loss of it and them ever so passionately and so patiently lamented. Homer bemoaning the same misfortune, falls short of this.

56. *Now had th' almighty Father*, &c.] The survey of the whole creation, and of every thing that is transacted in it, is a prospect worthy of Omniscience; and as much above that, in which Virgil has drawn his Jupiter, as the Christian idea of the Supreme Being is more rational and sublime than that of the Heathens. The particular objects, on which he is described to have cast his eye, are represented in the most beautiful and lively manner. *Addison.*

62.——*on his right*
The radiant image of his glory sat,
His only Son;] According to St. Paul, Heb. i. 3.

75. *Firm land imbosom'd, without firmament*, &c.] The universe appeared to Satan to be a solid globe, incompassed on all sides, but uncertain whether with water or air, but *without firmament*, without any sphere or fixed stars over it, as over the earth.

79. *Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.*] If Milton's majesty forsakes him any where, it is in those parts of his poem, where the divine Persons are introduced as speakers. We may observe, that the author proceeds with fear and trembling, whilst he describes the sentiments of the Almighty. He dares not give his imagination its full play,

but chooses to confine himself to thoughts drawn from the books of the most orthodox divines, and to expressions in Scripture. The beauties, therefore, which we are to look for in these speeches, are not of a poetical nature, nor so proper to fill the mind with sentiments of grandeur, as with thoughts of devotion. The passions, which they are designed to raise, are a divine love and religious fear. The particular beauty of the speeches in the third book consists in that shortness and perspicuity of stile, in which the poet has couched the greatest mysteries of Christianity, and drawn together in a regular scheme the whole dipensation of Providence with respect to Man. He has represented all the abstruse doctrines of predestination, free-will and grace, as also the great points of incarnation and redemption, in a clearer and stronger light than I ever met with in any other writer. *Addison.*

108 ———*(reason also is choice)*] The author had expressed the same sentiment before in prose. "Many there be that complain of divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! When God gave him reason he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing: he had been else a mere artificial Adam, &c. Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, p. 149, and 150.

135. *Thus while God spake*, &c. Milton here shows, that he was no servile imitator of the Ancients. It is very well known that Homer, and all who followed him, where they are representing the Deity speaking, describe a scene of terror and awful consternation. *The Heavens, Seas, and Earth tremble*, &c. and this was consistent enough with their natural notions of the Supreme Being: but it would not have been so agreeable to the mild, merciful, and benevolent idea of the Deity upon the Christian scheme, and therefore our author has very judiciously made the words of the Almighty diffusing delight to all around him.

140. *Substantially express'd*;] According to Heb. i. 3.

153 —*that be from thee far*, &c.] An imitation of Genesis, xviii. 25.

168. *O Son*, &c.] The Son is here addressed by several titles and appellations borrowed from Scripture. Matt. iii. 17. John i. 18. Rev. xix. 13. 1. Cor. i. 24.

183. *Some I have chosen of peculiar grace*, &c.] Our author did not hold the doctrine of rigid predestination; he was of the sentiments of the more moderate Calvinists, and thought that some indeed were elected of peculiar grace, the rest might be saved, complying with the terms and conditions of the Gospel.

215.—*and just th' unjust to save?*] That is which of ye will be so just as to save the unjust? Which of ye will be righteous enough to supply the defects of others righteousness? It is plainly an allus on to 1 Pet. iii. 18.

217.—*stood mute*,] I need not point out the beauty of that circumstance, wherein the whole host of Angels are represented as standing mute, nor show how proper the occasion was to produce such a silence in Heaven.

Addison.

This beautiful circumstance is raised upon Rev. viii. 1. where upon a certain occasion it is said, "There was silence in Heaven." And so, as there was silence in Hell, when it was proposed who should be sent on the dangerous expedition to destroy mankind, there is likewise silence in Heaven, when it is asked who would be willing to pay the price of their redemption. Satan alone was fit to undertake the one, as the Son of God the other. But though the silence is the same in both places, the difference of the expression is remarkable. In Hell it is said *all sat mute*, ii. 420, as there the infernal peers were sitting in council; but here it is said they *stood mute*, as the good Angels were standing round about the throne of God.

219.---*intercessor none*] Isaiah lix. 16.

244. *Life in myself for ev'r*;] According to John v. 26.

249.------*with corruption there to dwell*;] According to Psal. xvi. 10; applied to our Saviour's resurrection by St. Peter, Acts ii. 20, 21, &c.

254. *I through the tempie air in triumph high*, &c.] According to Psal. xviii. 18. and Col. ii. 15.

259. *Death last*,] According to 1 Cor. xv. 26.

266. *His words here ended, but his meek aspect*
Silent yet spake, &c.] What a lovely picture has Milton given us of Christ considered as our Saviour, not in the least inferior to that grander one in the sixth book, where he de-

scribes him clothed with majesty and terror, taking vengeance of his enemies. Before he represents him speaking, he makes "divine compassion, love without end, and grace without measure, visibly to appear in his face:" ver. 140, and carrying on the same amiable picture, makes him end it with a countenance "breathing immortal love to mortal men. No art or words could lift the imagination to a more exalted idea of a good and benevolent being.

287. *As in him perish all men*, &c.] As in 1 Cor. xv. 22.

299. *Giving to death, and dying to redeem*,] The love of the Father in giving the Son to death, and the love of the Son in submitting to it and dying to redeem mankind. Mr. Warburton thus explains it. "Milton's system of divinity taught," says he, "not only that Man was redeemed, but likewise that a real price was paid for his redemption; *dying to redeem* therefore signifying only redemption in a vague uncertain sense, but imperfectly represents his system; so imperfectly that it may as well be called the Socinian; the price paid (which implies a proper redemption) is wanting. But to pay a price implying a voluntary act, the poet therefore well expresses it by *giving to death*, that is giving himself to death; so that the sense of the line fully expresses Milton's notion, "Heavenly love gave a price for the redemption of mankind, and by virtue of that price really redeemed them."

306. *Equal to God, and equally enjoying*
God-like fruition;] This deserves notice as an instance of Milton's orthodoxy with relation to the divinity of God the Son.

317.——————*all power*
I give thee;] Mat. xxviii. 18.

321. *All knees to thee shall bow*, &c.] See Philip. ii. 10.

334. *The world shall burn*, &c.] Borrowed from 2 Pet iii. 12, 13.

337. *See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds*,]
Toto surget, gens aurea mundo. Virg. Ecl. iv. 9.

341. *God shall be all in all.*] According to 1 Cor. xv. 28.

341.——————*But all ye Gods*,
Adore him,] From Psal. xcvii. 7. "Worship him, all ye

Gods," that is *all ye Angels*; and so it is translated by the Seventy, and so it is cited by St. Paul, Heb. i. 6.

343. *Adore the Son, and honour him as me.*] John v. 23.

344. *No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd*, &c.] The close of this divine colloquy, with the hymn of Angels that follows upon it, are so wonderfully beautiful and poetical, that I should not forbear inserting the whole, if the bounds of my paper would give me leave. *Addison.*

If the reader pleases to compare this divine dialogue with the speeches of the Gods in Homer and Virgil, he will find the Christian poet to transcend the Heathen, as much as the religion of the one surpasses that of the others. Their deities talk and act like men, but Milton's divine persons are divine persons indeed, and talking the language of God, that is in the language of Scripture. He is so very scrupulous and exact in this particular, that perhaps there is not a single expression, which may not be justified by the authority of holy Writ. We have taken notice of several, where he seems to have copied the letter of Scripture, and the spirit of Scripture breathes in all the rest.

353. *Immortal amarant,*] *Amarant*, from the Greek for unfading, that decayeth not; a flower of purple velvet colour, which though gathered, keeps its beauty, and when all other flowers fade, recovers its lustre by being sprinkled with a little water, as Pliny affirms, lib. xxi. c. 11. Our author seems to have taken this hint from 1 Pet. i. 4. and 1 Pet. v. 4. both relating to the name of his everlasting *amarant*, which he has finely set near the tree of life. Amarantus flos, symbolum est immortalitatis. Clem. Alexand.

Hume.

357.-------*the fount of life, and river of bliss,*] The abundant happiness and immortal joys of Heaven are in Scripture generally expressed by "the fountain of life and rivers of pleasure." See Psal. xxxvi. 8, 9. Rev. vii. 17. and xxii. 1. *Hume.*

359. *Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream;*] And as there they are flowers *worthy of Paradise*, so here they are worthy of *Elysium*, the region of the Blessed: and he makes use of the same expression in his poem called L'Allegro,

From a golden slumber on a bed

Of heap'd *Elysian flow'rs.*

And, then as to his calling it *amber stream*, it is only on account of its clearness and transparency, and not at all on account of its colour, that he compares it to amber. The clearness of amber was proverbial among the Ancients.

363.---*like a sea of jasper shone*,] Jasper is a precious stone of several colours, but the green is most esteemed, and bears some similitude and resemblance to the colour of the sea.

372. *Thee, Father, first they sung*, &c.] This hymn seems to be composed somewhat in the spirit and manner of the hymn to Hercules in the eighth book of the Æneid: but is as much superior as the subject of the one transcends that of the other.

377. *Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st*] The word *but* here is the same as *except, unless*; *inaccessible except when thou shad'st.*

382. *Approach not*,] So Ovid Met. ii. 22.

Consistique procul, neque enim propiora ferebat
Lumina.

383.------*of all creation first*,] So in Col. i. 15. and Rev. iii. 14.

387. *Whom else no creature can behold*;] No creature can otherwise behold the Father but in and through the Son. John i. 18; xiv. 9.

398. *Thee only extoll'd.*] We must not understand it thus, Thy Powers returning from pursuit extoll'd, &c. but thy powers extolled thee returning from pursuit, and *thee only*; for he was the *sole victor*, all the rest *stood silent eye witnesses of his almighty acts*, vi. 880, &c.

408. *Second to thee*,] Several phrases in this description seem to intimate that Milton verged towards Arianism.

412. *Hail Son of God*,] So in the conclusion of the hymn to Hercules mentioned before, Æn. viii. 301.

Salve vera Jovis proles, decus addite Divis.

It is to be noted that the ending of this hymn resembles the hymns of Homer and Callimachus, who always promise to return in future hymns.

418. *Meanwhile upon the firm*, &c.] Satan's walk upon the outside of the universe, which at a distance appeared

to him of a globular form, but upon his nearer approach looked like an unbounded plain, is natural and noble: as his roaming upon the frontiers of the creation between that mass of matter, which was wrought into a world, and that shapeless unformed heap of materials, which still lay in Chaos and confusion, strikes the imagination with something astonishingly great. *Addison.*

431. *As when a vulture*, &c.] This simile is very apposite and lively, and corresponds exactly in all the particulars. Satan coming from Hell to Earth, in order to destroy mankind, but lighting first on the bare convex of this world's outermost orb, *a sea of land* as the poet calls it, is very fitly compared to a vulture flying in quest of his prey, tender lambs or kids new yean'd. *Imaus* is a celebrated mountain in Asia; its name signifies *snowy* in the language of the inhabitants, according to Pliny. It is the boundary to the east of the Western Tartars, who are called *roving*, as they live chiefly in tents, and remove from place to place for the convenience of pasturage, their herds of cattle and what they take in hunting being their principal subsistence. *Ganges* and *Hydaspes* are famous rivers in India; and *Serica* is a region betwixt China to the east and the mountain Imaus to the west: and what our author here says of the *Chinese*, he seems to have taken from Meylin's Cosmographr. p. 867, where it is said, "Agreeable unto the observation of modern writers, the country is so plain and level, that they have carts and coaches driven with sails, as ordinarily as drawn with horses, in these parts." This was attempted with success some years ago on Marlborough Downs. Our author supposes these carriages to be made of *cane*, to render the thing somewhat more probable.

442.—*in this place*] I have before spoken of the Limbo of Vanity, which the poet places upon the outermost surface of the universe, and shall here explain myself more at large on that, and other parts of the poem, which are of the same shadowy nature. Aristotle observes, that the fable of an epic poem should abound in circumstances that are both credible and astonishing. This rule is as fine and just as any in Aristotle's whole art of poetry. If the fable is only probable, *it* differs nothing from true history; if it is only

marvellous, it is no better than a romance. The great secret therefore of heroic poetry is to relate such circumstances, as may produce in the reader at the same time both belief and astonishment. This is brought to pass in a well chosen fable, by the account of such things as have really happened, or at least of such things as have happened according to the received opinions of mankind. Milton's fable is a master-piece of this nature, as the war in Heaven, and the condition of the fallen Angels, the state of innocence, the temptaion of the Serpent and the fall of Man, though they are very astonishing in themselves, are not only credible but actual points of faith. The next method of reconciling miracles with credibility, is by a happy invention of the poet; as in particular when he introduces agents of a superior nature, who are capable of effecting what is wonderful, and what is not to be met with in the ordinary course of things. If we look into the fiction of his fable, though we find it full of surprising incidents, they are generally suited to our notions of the things and persons described, and tempered with a due measure of probability. I must only make an exception to the Limbo of Vanity, with his episode of Sin and Death, and some of the imaginary persons in his Chaos. These passages are astonishing, but not credible; the reader cannot so far impose upon himself, as to see a possibility in them; they are the description of dreams and shadows, not of things or persons. I know that many critics look upon the stories of Circe, Polypheme, the Sirens, nay the whole Odyssey and Iliad, to be allegories; but allowing this to be true, they are fables, which, considering the opinions of mankind that prevailed in the age of the poet, might possibly have been according to the letter. The persons are such as might have acted what is ascribed to them, as the circumstances in which they are represented, might possibly have been truths and realities. This appearance of probability is so absolutely requisite in the greater kinds of poetry, that Aristotle observes the ancient tragic writers made use of the names of such great men as had actually lived in the world, though the tragedy proceeded upon adventures they were never engaged in, on purpose to make the subject more credible. In a word, besides the hidden meaning of an epic

allegory, the plain literal sense ought to appear probable. The story should be such as an ordinary reader may acquiesce in, whatever natural, moral, or political truth may be discovered in it by men of greater penetration. *Addison.*

444. *None yet*,&c.] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verse and fifty-four more, which follow as an insertion of the editor; but there can be no doubt of their genuineness, whatever there may be of their goodness. Of the Paradise of Fools Dr. Johnson says, "his desire of imitating Aristotle's levity has disgraced his works with the Paradise of Fools; a fiction in itself not ill imagined, but too ludicrous for the place."

460. *Those argent fields*, &c.] There is no question I believe now among philosophers, that the moon is inhabited; but it is greatly to be questioned whether this notion of our author be true, that the inhabitants there are *translated Saints or Spirits* of a middle nature between Angels andMen: for as the moon is certainly less considerable in itself than our earth, it is not likely that its inhabitants should be so much more considerable.

463. *Hither of ill join'd sons and daughters born*, &c.] He means *the sons of God* ill-joined with *the daughters of men*, alluding to that text of Scripture, Gen. vi. 4.

467. *Of Sennaar*,] Or Shinar, for they are both the same name of this province of Babylonia.

471. *Empedocles*;] The scholar of Pythagoras, a philosopher and poet, born at Agrigentum in Sicily: he wrote of the nature of things in Greek, as Lucretius did in Latin verse. He stealing one night from his followers threw himself into the flaming Ætna, that being no where to be found, he might be esteemed to be a God, and to be taken up into Heaven; but his iron pattens, being thrown out by the fury of the burning mountain, discovered his defeated ambition, and ridiculed his folly. Hor. de Art Poet. 464.

473. *Cleombrotus*;] The name is rightly placed the last word in the sentence, as *Empedocles* was before. He was called Ambraciota of Ambracia, a city of Epirus in Greece. Having read over Plato's book of the Soul's immortality and happiness in another life, he was so ravished with the account of it, that he leaped from a high wall into the sea, that

he might immediately enjoy it. His death is celebrated by Callimachus in one of his epigrams.

It may be questioned whether Milton by this appearance of inaccuracy and negligence did not design to express his contempt of their *trumpery* as he calls it, by hustling it all together in this disorder and confusion.

475. *White, black, and gray,*] So named according to their habits, white friers or Carmelites, black friers, or Dominicans, gray friers or Franciscans, of their founders St. Francis, St. Dominic, and mount Carmel, where that order pretend they were first instituted. Our author here, as elsewhere, shows his dislike and abhorrence of the church of Rome, by placing the religious orders *with all their trumpery*, cowls, hoods, reliques, beads, *&c.* in the Paradise of Fools, and not only placing them there, but making them the principal figures.

476. *Here pilgrims,* &c.] Those who had gone upon pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to visit our Lord's sepulchre, instead of practising his precepts at home.

482. *And that chystalline sphere* &c.] He speaks here according to the ancient astronomy, adopted and improved by Ptolomy. *They pass the planets sev'n*, our planetary or solar system, and beyond this *pass the fix'd*, the firmament or sphere of the fixed stars, *and* beyond this *that crystalline sphere*, the crystalline Heaven, clear as crystal, to which the Ptolemaics attributed a sort of libration or shaking (the *trepidation* so much talked of) to account for certain irregularities in the motion of the stars, *and* beyond this *that first mov'd*, the primum mobile, the sphere which was both the first moved and the first mover, communicating its motion to all the lower spheres; and beyond this was the empyrean Heaven, the seat of God and the Angels.

When our poet mentions *St. Peter at Heav'n's wicket with his keys*, he certainly intends to ridicule the fond conceit of the Romanists, that St. Peter and his successors are in a particular manner intrusted with the keys of Heaven. And he makes use of the low phrase of *Heaven's wicket*, the better to expose the notions of those whom he places here in the Paradise of Fools.

492. *Indulgencies,* &c.] The proposition which Milton's

fiction tends to illustrate, is, that all who form a wrong estimate of the value of objects, are, in proportion to the erroneousness of the estimate, *Fools*. The illustration itself is too much confined. The follies which he particularizes are principally those of the Romish Church. Horace's illustration of a similar doctrine is much more general. See his second book, third Satire.

495. *Into a Limbo large and broad,*] The *Limbus patrum* as it is called, is a place that the Schoolmen supposed to be in the neighbourhood of Hell, where the souls of the patriarchs were detained, and those good men who died before our Saviour's resurrection. Our author gives the same name to the Paradise of Fools, and more rationally places it beyond *the backside of the world.*

506. *With frontispiece of diamond and gold*] Imitated from Ovid, Met. ii. 1.

The sun's bright palace, on high columns rais'd,
With burnish'd gold and flaming jewels blaz'd. *Addison.*

510. *The stairs*, the degrees mentioned before, ver. 502, *were such as whereon Jacob saw*, &c.] A comparison fetched from Gen. xxviii. 12. 13. But this line,

To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz,

must not be understood as if *Padan-Aram* was *in the field of Luz*; but he was flying to *Padan-Aram* or the country of Aram, that is Syria; and by the way rested and dreamed this dream in the field of *Luz*, for so the adjoining city was called at the first; Jacob upon this occasion gave it the name of Bethel, by which it was better known afterwards.

534.—*and his eye with choice regard*] Dr. Pearce thinks that after *regard* a verse seems to be wanting to describe what *his eye* did *with choice regard*: but it may be understood thus, his eye *pass'd frequent*, as well as his Angels to and fro on high behests or commands, and surveyed *from Paneas*, a city at the foot of a mountain of the same name, part of mount Libanus where the river Jordan has its source, to *Beërsaba* or Beersheba, that is the whole extent of the Promised Land, from Paneas in the north to Beersaba in the south, where the Holy Land is bounded by Egypt and Arabia. The limits of the Holy Land are thus expressed in Scripture, *from Dan even unto Beersheba*, Dan at the northern and Beersheba at the

southern extremity; and the city that was called *Dan* was afterwards named *Paneas.*

540. *Satan from hence,* &c.] Satan after having long wandered upon the surface, or outmost wall of the universe, discovers at last a wide gap in it, which led into the creation, and is described as the opening through which the Angels pass to and fro into the lower world upon their errands to mankind. His sitting upon the brink of this passage, and taking a survey of the whole face of nature that appeared to him new and fresh in all its beauties, with the simile illustrating this circumstance, fills the mind of the reader with as surprising and glorious an idea as any that arises in the whole poem. He looks down into that vast hollow of the universe, with the eye, or (as Milton calls it) with the ken of an Angel. He surveys all the wonders in this immense amphitheatre that lie between both the poles of Heaven, and takes in at one view the whole round of the creation. *Addison.*

562. *Down right into the world's* &c.] Satan after having surveyed the whole creation, immediately *without longer pause* throws himself into it, and is described as making two different motions. At first he drops down perpendicularly some way into it, *down right into the world's first region throws his flight precipitant,* and afterwards *winds his oblique way,* turns and winds this way and that, if he might any where espy the seat of Man; for though in ver. 527 it is said that the passage was *just over Paradise,* yet it is evident that Satan did not know it, and therefore as it was natural for him to do, winds about in search of it *through the pure marble air.* The first epithet *pure* determines the sense of the second, and shows why the air is compared to *marble,* namely for its clearness and whiteness, without any regard to its hardness: and the word *marmor, marble,* is derived from a Greek word that signifies to shine and glister.

Waller has said in his verses upon his mistress's passing through a croud of people;

The yielding *marble* of a snowy breast.

And Othello, in Shakespear, is represented as swearing act iii.

—Now by yon *marble* Heaven.

It is common with the Ancients, and those who write in the spirit and manner of the Ancients, in their metaphors and similies, if they agree in the main circumstance, to have no regard to lesser particulars.

565.—*that shone*
Stars distant,] They appeared by their shining to be stars. It is a Greek expression, as Plato in an epigram on his friend Stella preserved by Diogenes Laertes: *You shone whilst living a morning star, but dead you now shine Hesperus among the shades.*

568. *Like those Hesperian gardens*] So called of *Hesperus, Vesper,* because placed in the west under the evening star. Those famous gardens were the isles about Cape Verd in Africa, whose most western point is still called *Hesperium Cornu.* Others will have them the Canaries.

573.—*thither his course he bends &c.*] His flight between the several worlds that shined on every side of him, with the particular description of the sun, are set forth in all the wantonness of a luxuriant imagination. His shape, speech, and behaviour upon his transforming himself into an Angel of light, are touched with exquisite beauty. The poet's thought of directing Satan to the sun, which, in the vulgar opinion of mankind, is the most conspicuous part of the creation, and the placing in it an Angel, is a circumstance finely contrived, and the more adjusted to a poetical probability, as it was a received doctrine among the most famous philosophers, that every orb had its *Intelligence,* and as an Apostle in Sacred Writ is said to have seen such an Angel in the sun. *Addison.*

580. ---*in numbers*] That is in measures.

586. *Shoots invisible virtue ev'n to the deep;*] Dr. Bentley says *invisible* makes mere tautology with *though unseen;* but I think not; the words *though unseen* relate to *penetration,* and *invisible* is the epithet to *virtue,* which is a distinct thing from the *penetration* before mentioned, and which might have been visible, though the other was not so. *Pearce.*

590. *Through his glaz'd optic tube*] The spots in the sun are visible with a telescope: but astronomer perhaps never yet saw *through his glaz'd optic tube,* that is his telescope, such a spot as Satan, now he was in the sun's orb. The poet

mentions this glass the oftener in honour of Galileo, whom he means here by the *astronomer*.

593. *Not all parts like*, &c.] Ovid has given us a description of the palace of the Sun, but few have described the Sun himself; and I know not whether our author has shown more fancy or more judgment in the description. An ordinary poet would in all probability have insisted chiefly upon its excessive heat; but that was nothing to Satan who was come from the hotter region of Hell; and therefore Milton judiciously omits it, and enlarges upon the riches of the place, the gold and silver and precious stones which abounded therein, and by these means exhibits a pleasing picture instead of a disagreeable one.

602.---*though by their pow'rful art they bind* &c.] Though by their powerful art they bind and fix quicksilver, and change their matter, unbound, unfixed, into as many various shapes as Proteus, till it be reduced at last to its first original form. *Hermes*, another word for Mercury or quicksilver, which is very fluid, and volatile, and hard to be fixed. *Proteus*, a Sea-God, who could transform himself into various shapes, till being closely pressed he returned to his own proper form. By this the Ancients understood the first principle of things and the subject matter of nature; and our poet therefore very fitly employs this metaphor or similitude to express the matter, which the chemists make experiments upon through all its mutations, and which they drain through their limbecs or stills, till it resume its native and original form.

606. *What wonder then*, &c] And if chemists can do so much, what wonder then if in the sun itself is the true philosopher's stone, the grand elixir, and rivers of liquid gold: when the sun, the chief of chemists, though at so great a distance, can perform such wonders upon earth, and produce so many precious things? The thought of making the sun the chief chemist or alchemist seems to be taken from Shakespear, King John, act iii.

To solemnize this day, the glorious sun
Stays in his course, and plays the alchemist,
Turning with splendor of his precious eye
The meager cloddy earth to glittering gold.

616.---*as when his beams at noon*
Culminate from the equator, as they now
Shoot upward still direct,] The first *as* is used by way of similitude, in the sense of *like as*; there was no shadow but all sun-shine, like *as when his beams at noon culminate from the equator*, that is, are vertical and shoot directly from the equator, which is the reason why those who live under the equator, under the line, are called Ascii, and at noon cast no shadows. The other *as* is used by way of reason, in the sense of *for as much as*; there was no shadow but all sun-shine, for as much *as his beams shot now directly upward*.

628.———*employ'd*] Milton constantly spells this word *imploy'd*, but the French word from whence it is derived is *employer*.

634. *But first he casts* &c.] He considers. The metaphor seems to be taken from casting the eye around every way. Spenser has the same expression, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. xi. st. 40.

He cast at once him to avenge for all.

And Milton himself again, xii. 43. *Richardson.*

636.—*a stripling Cherub*] The evil Spirit, the better to disguise his purpose, assumes the appearance of a stripling Cherub, not of one of those of the prime order and dignity, for such could not so well be supposed to be ignorant of what Satan wanted now to be informed. And a finer picture of a young Angel could not be drawn by the pencil of Raphael than is here by the pen of Milton.

643. *His habit fit for speed succinct*,] If the author meant that Satan had clothes on as well as wings, it is contrary to his usual manner of representing the Angels; but I rather understand it that the *wings he wore* were his habit, and they were certainly a habit *fit for speed succinct*; but *succinct* I understand with Dr. Pearce, not in its first and literal sense *girded* or *tucked up*, but in the metaphorical sense, *ready* and *prepared*; as Fabius in Inst. Orat. ii. 2. says, Proni succinctique, &c.

644. *His decent steps*] The word *decent* in its common acceptation in our language will, I think, scarcely come up to what our poet is here describing, and therefore we ought in justice to him to recur to its Latin original. Hor. Od. iii. xxvii. 35.

Antequam turpis macies *decentes*
Occupet malas.

650.——*and are his eyes* &c.] An expression borrowed from Zech. iv. 10. "Those seven, they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro throught the whole earth." The Jews therefore believed there were *seven* principal Angels, who were the captains and leaders as it were of the heavenly host.

654. *Uriel,*] His name is derived from two Hebrew words which signify *God is my light.* He is mentioned as a good Angel in the second book of Esdras, chapters iv. and v. and the Jews and some Christians conceive him to be an Angel of light according to his name, and therefore he has properly his station in the sun.

678.——*that loss*] This is Miton's own reading in both his editions. Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton read not so well *their loss.*

683. *Hypocrisy* &c.] What is said here of hypocrisy is censured as a digression, but it seems no more than is absolutely necessary; for otherwise it might be thought very strange, that the evil Spirit should pass undiscovered by the Arch-Angel Uriel, the region of the sun, and the sharpest sighted Spirit in Heaven, and therefore the poet endeavours to account for it by saying, that hypocrisy cannot be discerned by Man or Angel, it is invisible to all but God, &c. But yet the evil Spirit did not pass wholly undiscovered, for though Uriel was not aware of him now, yet he found reason to suspect him afterwards from his furious gestures in the mount.

686. *And oft though wisdom wake,* &c.] He must be very critically splenetic indeed, who will not pardon this little digressional observation. What great art has the poet shown in taking off the dryness of a mere moral sentence by throwing it into the form of a short and beautiful allegory!

694. *Fair Angel,* &c.] in the answer which this Angel returns to the disguised evil Spirit, there is such a becoming majesty as is altogether suitable to a superior being. The part of it, in which he represents himself as present at the creation, is very noble in itself, and not only proper where it is introduced, but requisite to prepare the reader for what follows in the seventh book. In the following part of the

speech he points out the earth with such circumstances, that the reader can scarce forbear fancying himself employed on the same distant view of it. *Addison.*

715. *The cumbrous elements,*] Even air and fire are so in comparison of the ethereal quintessence, celestial fire, or pure spirit. *Richardson.*

716. *And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven*] This notion our author borrowed from Aristotle and others of the ancient philosophers, who supposed that besides the four elements there was likewise an ethereal quintessence or fifth essence, out of which the stars and Heavens were formed, and its motion was orbicular.

730.------*her countenance triform*] Increasing with horns towards the east, decreasing with horns towards the west, and at the full.

741.—*in many an aery wheel,*] This sportive motion is attributed to Satan for joy that he was now so near his journey's end: and it is very properly taken notice of here, as it is said to have been observed by the Angel Uriel, afterwards in iv. 567.

---I describ'd his way,
Bent on all speed, and mark'd his aery gate.

So beautifully do not only the greater, but even the minuter parts of this poem hang together.

742. --*on Niphates' top he lights,*] A mountain in the borders of Armenia, not far from the spring of Tigris, as Xenophon affirms upon his own knowledge. The poet lands Satan on this mountain, because it borders on Mesopotamia, in which the most judicious describers of Paradise place it.

I must not conclude my reflections upon this third book of Paradise Lost, without taking notice of that celebrated complaint of Milton with which it opens, and which certainly deserves all the praises that have been given it; though, as I have before hinted, it may rather be looked upon as an excrescence, than as an essential part of the poem. The same observation might be applied to that beautiful digression upon hypocrisy in the same book. *Addison.*

BOOK IV.

32. *O thou &c.*] SATAN being now within prospect of Eden, and looking round upon the glories of the creation, is filled with sentiments different from those which he discovered while he was in Hell. The place inspires him with thoughts more adapted to it. He reflects upon the happy condition from whence he fell, and breaks forth into a speech that is softened with several transient touches of remorse and self-accusation: but at length he confirms himself in impenitence, and in his design of drawing Man into his own state of guilt and misery. This conflict of passions is raised with a great deal of art, as the opening of his speech to the sun is very bold and noble. This speech is, I think, the finest that is ascribed to Satan in the whole poem. *Addison.*

114.---*each passion dimm'd his face*

Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair;] Each passion, ire, envy, and despair, dimm'd his countenance which was thrice changed with pale through the successive agitations of these three passions. For that paleness is the proper hue of envy and despair every body knows, and we always reckon that sort of anger the most deadly and diabolical, which is accompanied with a pale livid countenance.

126.------ *on the Assyrian mount*] Dr. Bentley reads *Armenian mount*: but Niphates is by Pliny reckoned between Armenia and Assyria, and therefore may be called *Assyrian.*

132.---*where delicious Paradise, &c.*] Satan is now come to the border of Eden, where he has a nearer prospect of Paradise, which the poet represents as situated in a champain country upon the top of a steep hill, called the Mount of Paradise. The sides of this hill were overgrown with thickets and bushes, so as not to be passable; and over-head above these, on the sides of the hill, likewise grew the lofti-

est trees, and as they ascended in ranks shade above shade, they formed a kind of natural theatre, the rows of trees rising one above another in the same manner as the benches in the theatres and places of public shows and spectacles.--- And yet higher than the highest of these trees grew up the verdurous wall of Paradise, a green inclosure like a rural mound, like a bank set with a hedge; but this hedge grew not up so high as to hinder Adam's prospect into the neighbouring country below, which is called his *empire*, as the whole earth was his *dominion*, v. 751. But above this hedge or green wall grew a circling row of the finest fruit trees; and the only entrance into Paradise was a gate on the eastern side. This account in prose may perhaps help the reader the better to understand the description in verse.

This description exceeds any thing I ever met with of the same kind; but the Italians, in my opinion, approach the nearest to our English poet; and if the reader will give himself the trouble to read over Ariosto's picture of the garden of Paradise, Tasso's garden of Armida, and Marino's garden of Venus, he will, I think, be persuaded that Milton imitates their manner, but yet that the copy greatly excels the originals.

163. ------*with such delay*

Well pleas'd they slack their course,] The north-east winds blowing contrary to those who have doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and are past the Island *Mozambic* on the eastern coast of Africa near the continent, and are sailing forwards, they must necessarily *slack their course*; but yet they are well enough *pleased with such delay*, as it gives them the pleasure of smelling such delicious odours, *Sabean odour*, from Saba, a city and country of Arabia Felix, *Araby the blest*, the most famous for frankincense. "Sabæi Arabum propter thura clarissimi." Plin. Nat Hist. l. vi. c. 28. and Virg. Georg. ii. 117. —solis est thurea virga Sabæis.

168. *Than Asmodëus with &c.*] Asmodëus was the evil Spirit, enamoured of Sarah the daughter of Raguel, whose seven husbands he destroyed. See the book of Tobit, chap. viii.

183.---*As when a prowling wolf*,] A *wolf* is often the subject of a simile in Homer and Virgil, but here is considered

in a new light, and perhaps never furnished out a stronger resemblance; and the additional simile of a *thief* seems to have been taken from St. John's gospel, x. 1.

193.——*lewd hirelings*] The word *lewd* was formerly understood in a larger acceptation than it is at present, and signified profane, impious, wicked, vicious, as well as wanton.

195. *The middle tree and highest there that grew,*]

The tree of life also in the midst of the garden, Gen. ii. 9. *In the midst* is a Hebrew phrase, expressing not only the local situation of this enlivening tree, but denoting its excellency, as being the most considerable, the tallest, goodliest, and most lovely tree in that beauteous garden planted by God himself: So Scotius, Duran, Valesius, &c. whom our poet follows, affirming it the *highest there that grew.* Rev. ii. 7.

196. *Sat like a cormorant;*] The thought of Satan's transformation into a cormorant, and placing himself on the tree of life, seems raised upon that passage in the Iliad, where two deities are described, as perching on the top of an oak in the shape of vultures. The poet had compared Satan to a vulture before, iii. 431; and here again he is well likened to a cormorant, which being a very voracious sea-fowl, is a proper emblem of this destroyer of mankind.

209. *Of God the garden was, by him in the east*
Of Eden planted;] So the sacred text, Gen. ii. 8. We have in a few lines our author's topography of Eden. This province (in which the terrestrial Paradise was planted) extended from *Auran* or Aaran, a city of Mesopotamia near the river Euphrates, eastward to *Seleucia,* a city built by Seleucus one of the successors of Alexander the Great, upon the river Tigris. See Sir Isaac Newton's Ch. p. 275. So that our author places Eden, agreeably to the accounts in Scripture, somewhere in Mesopotamia.

215. *His far more pleasant garden*] In the description of Paradise, the poet has observed Aristotle's rule of lavishing all the ornaments of diction on the weak unactive parts of the fable, which are not supported by the beauty of sentiments and characters. Accordingly the reader may observe, that the expressions are more florid and elaborate in these de-

scriptions, than in most other parts of the poem. I must further add, that though the *drawings* of gardens, rivers, rainbows, and the like dead pieces of nature, are justly censured in an heroic poem, when they run out into an unnecessary length; the description of Paradise would have been faulty, had not the poet been very particular in it, not only as it is the scene of the principal action, but as it is requisite to give us an idea of that happiness from which our first parents fell. There is scarce a speech of Adam and Eve in the whole poem, wherein the sentiments and allusione are not taken from this their delightful habitation.

248. *Groves whose rich trees* &c.] There were groves bearing aromatics, and there were others bearing fruit for sustenance. The former are called *rich trees*, as *odorous gums and balmy* carry usually a higher price than *fruit*: and they are said to *weep* gums and balm by a beautiful metaphor not unusual in poetry: as Ovid says of the myrrh trees, Met. x. 500.

Flet tamen, et tepidæ manant ex arbore guttæ;
Est honor et *lacrymis*.

255.——*irriguous valley*] Well watered, full of springs and rills: it is the epithet of a garden in Horace, sat. ii. iv. 16.

Irriguo nihil est elutius horto. *Hume.*

256. *Flowers of all hue, and without thorn the rose:*] Dr. Bentley rejects this verse, because he thinks it a *jejune identity* in the poet to say *The flowery lap------spread flowers:* but as Dr. Pearce observes, though the expression be not very exact, it is not so bad as Dr. Bentley represents it; for the construction and sense is, *The flowery lap of some valley spread her store*, which store was what? Why *flowers* of every colour or *hue*. Dr. Bentley objects too to the latter part of the verse, *and without thorn the rose*, and calls it a puerile fancy. But it should be remembered, that it was part of the curse denounced upon the earth for Adam's transgression, that it should *bring forth thorns and thistles*, Gen. iii. 18.

257. *Another side umbrageous grots and caves*] Another side of the garden was umbrageous grots and caves, &c. or on another side were shady grots and caves, &c. the præposition being omitted, as is not unusual with our author. See i. 282. and 723. *On one side* were groves of aromatics,

others of fruit, and betwixt them lawns or downs. *On another side* were shady grotto's and caves of cool recess. Our author indeed has not mentioned *one side* before, but without that he often makes use of the expression *on the other side*, as you may see in ii. 108, 706. iv. 985. ix. 888. as Virgil frequently says *in parte alia, in another part*, though he has not said expressly *in one part* before, Æn. i. 474. viii. 682. ix. 521.

266.---*while universal Pan* &c.] While universal nature linked with the graceful seasons danced a perpetual round, and throughout the earth yet unpolluted led eternal spring. All the poets favour the opinion of the world's creation in the spring. Virg. Georg. ii. 338.

Ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
Cum primum lucem pecudes hausere, &c.

Ov. Met. i. 107.

Ver erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.

That the Graces were taken for the beautiful seasons in which all things seem to dance and smile in an universal joy, is plain from Horace, Od. iv. vii. 1.

Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gramina campis------
Gratia cum nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
Ducere nuda choros.

And Homer joins both the Graces and Hours hand in hand with Harmony, Youth, and Venus, in his Hymn to Apollo.

The Ancients personified every thing. *Pan* is nature, the *Graces* are the beautiful seasons, and the *Hours* are the time requisite for the production and perfection of things. Milton only says in a most poetical manner (as Homer in his Hymn to Apollo had done before him) that now all nature was in beauty, and every hour produced something new, without any change for the worse.

268. ——— *Not that fair field*, &c.] Not that fair field of *Enna* in Sicily, celebrated so much by Ovid for its beauty, from whence *Proserpine* was carried away by the gloomy God of Hell *Dis* or Pluto, which occasioned her mother *Ceres* to seek her all the world over; nor that sweet grove of *Daphne*

near Antioch, the capital of Syria, seated on the banks of the river *Orontes*, together with the *Castalian* spring there, of the same name with that in Greece, and extolled for its prophetic qualities; nor the island Nysa, incompassed with the river *Triton* in Africa, where *Cham* or Ham the son of Noah, therefore called *old*, (who first peopled Egypt and Lybia, and among the Gentiles goes by the name of *Ammon* or *Lybian Jove*) hid his mistress *Amalthea* and her beautiful son *Bacchus* (therefore called Dionysius) from his stepdame *Rheta*'s eye, the stepdame of Bacchus and wife of the Lybian Jove according to some authors, particularly Diodorus Siculus. Not any nor all of these could vie with this Paradise of Eden; this exceeded all that historians have written or poets have feigned of the most beautiful places in the world.

285.——*Assyrian garden*,] Milton here follows Strabo, who comprehends Mesopotamia in the ancient Assyria. *Richardson.*

288. *Two of far nobler shape*, &c.] The description of Adam and Eve, as they first appeared to Satan, is exquisitely drawn, and sufficient to make the fallen Angel gaze upon them with all that astonishment and those emotions of envy, in which he is represented. There is a fine spirit of poetry in the lines which follow, wherein they are described as sitting on a bed of flowers by the side of a fountain, amidst a mixed assembly of animals. *Addison.*

297. *For contemplation he and valour form'd,*
For softness she and sweet attractive grace,] The curious reader may please to observe upon these two charming lines, how the numbers are varied, and how artfully *he* and *she* are placed in each verse, so that the tone may fall upon them, and yet fall upon them differently. The author might have given both exactly the same tone, but every ear may judge this alteration to be much for the worse.

For valour he and contemplation form'd,
For softness she and sweet attractive grace.

301.——*hyacinthine locks*] Thus Minerva in Homer gives Ulysses hyacinthine locks to make him more beautiful.

Back from his brows a length of hair unfurls,
His hyacinthine locks descend in wavy curls. *Broome.*

Eustathius interprets hyacinthine locks by black locks, and

Suidas by very dark brown; and Milton in like manner means brown or black locks, distinguishing Adam's hair from Eve's in the colour as well as in other particulars.

303.——*his shoulders broad:*] Broad shoulders are always assigned to the ancient heroes. But I wonder that Milton has given no indication that Adam had a beard; not the least down or blossom on his chin, the first access to manhood; which the Greek and Latin poets dwell on, as the principal part of manly beauty: and our Spenser, b. ii. cant. 12. st. 79. and b. iii. cant. 5. st. 29. *Bentley.*

His beard is a particular that the poet could not have forgot, but I suppose he purposely omitted it, because Raphael and the principal painters always represent him without one; Milton frequently fetches his ideas from the works of the greatest masters in painting.

The poet has, I think, showed great judgment and delicacy in avoiding in this place the entering into a circumstantial description of Eve's beauty. It was, no doubt, a very tempting occasion of giving an indulgent loose to his fancy: since the most lavish imagination could not possibly carry too high the charms of woman, as she first came out of the hands of her heavenly Maker. But as a picture of this kind would have been too light and gay for the graver turn of Milton's plan, he has very artfully mentioned the charms of her person in general terms only, and directed the reader's attention more particularly to the beauty of her mind.

305.——*golden tresses*] This sort of hair was most admired and celebrated by the Ancients, I suppose as it usually betokens a fairer skin and finer complexion. It would be almost endless to quote passages to this purpose in praise of Helen and the other famous beauties of antiquity. Venus herself, the Goddess of beauty, is described of this colour and complexion; is stiled *golden Venus*, by Homer and by Virgil. As Milton had the taste of the Ancients in other things, so likewise in this particular. He must certainly have preferred this to all other colours, or he would never have bestowed it upon Eve, whom he designed as a pattern of beauty to all her daughters.

323. *Adam the goodliest man of men*, &c.] These two lines are censured by Mr. Addison, and are totally rejected by Dr.

Bentley, as implying that Adam was one of his sons, and Eve one of her daughters: but this manner of expression is borrowed from the Greek language, in which we find sometimes the superlative degree used instead of the comparative. The meaning therefore is, that Adam was a goodlier man than any of his sons, and Eve fairer than her daughters. So Achilles is said to have been the most short-lived of others. So Nireus is said to have been the handsomest of the other Grecians, Iliad. ii. 637.

And the same manner of speaking has passed from the Greeks to the Latins. So a freed woman is called in Horace, sat. i. i. 100. *fortissima Tyndaridarum*, not that she was one of the Tyndaridæ, but more brave than any of them.

347. *His litbe proboscis*;] His limber trunk, so pliant and useful to him, that Cicero calls it, *elephantorum manum*, the elephant's hand.

351. *Couch'd*] Let the reader observe how artfully the word *couch'd* is placed, so as to make the sound expressive of the sense,

—— others on the grass
Couch'd.———

Such a rest upon the first syllable of the verse is not very common, but is very beautiful when it is so accommodated to the sense.

352. *Or bedward ruminating*;] Chewing the cud before they go to rest.

354. *To th' ocean isles*,] The islands in the Western Ocean; for that the sun set in the sea, and rose out of it again, was an ancient poetic notion, and is become part of the phraseology of poetry.

389.—*yet public reason just*, &c.] Public reason *compels me*, and that public reason is honour and empire enlarged with revenge, by conquering this new world. And thus Satan is made to plead *public reason just*, and *necessity* to *excuse his devilish deeds*; *the tyrant's plea*, as the poet calls it, probably with a view to his own times, and particularly to the plea for ship-money.

395. *Then from his lofty stand on that high tree*, &c.] The tree of life, higher than the rest, where he had been perching all this while from ver. 196. And then for the transformations

which follow, what changes in Ovid's Metamorphosis are so natural, and yet so surprising as these? He is well likened to the fiercest beasts, the lion and the tiger, and Adam and Eve in their native innocence to two gentle fawns.

411. *Sole partner*, &c.] The speeches of these two first lovers flow equally from passion and sincerity. The professions they make to one another are full of warmth, but at the same time founded upon truth. *Addison.*

421. *This one, this easy charge*,] It was very natural for Adam to discourse of this, and this was what Satan wanted more particularly to learn; and it is expressed from God's command, Gen. ii. 16, 17.

449. *That day I oft remember*, &c.] The remaining part of Eve's speech, in which she gives an account of herself upon her first creation, and the manner in which she was brought to Adam, is as beautiful a passage as any in Milton, or perhaps in any other poet whatsoever. These passages are all worked off with so much art, that they are capable of pleasing the most delicate reader without offending the most severe. A poet of less judgment and invention than this great author would have found it very difficult to have filled these tender parts of the poem with sentiments proper for a state of innocence; to have described the warmth of love and the professions of it without artifice or hyperbole; to have made the man speak the most indearing things without descending from his natural dignity; and the woman receiving them without departing from the modesty of her character; in a word, to adjust the prerogatives of wisdom and beauty, and make each appear to the other in its proper force and loveliness. This mutual subordination of the two sexes is wonderfully kept up in the whole poem, as particularly in this speech of Eve, and the lines following it. The poet adds, that the Devil turned away at the sight of so much happiness. *Addison.*

458.- ----*to look into the clear*
Smooth lake,] It has been asked sarcastically enough, (Spectator, vol. v. No. 325.) whether some moral is not couched under this place, where the poet lets us know, that the first woman immediately after her creation ran to a looking-glass, and became so enamoured of her own face,

that she had never removed to view any of the other works of nature, had not she been led off to a man.

478. *Under a platan*;] The plane tree so named from the breadth of its leaves, a tree useful and delightful for its extraordinary shade, Virg. Georg. iv. 146.

Jamque ministrantem *platanum* potantibus umbram.

499. ——————*as Jupiter*, &c.] As the Heaven smiles upon the air, when it makes the clouds and every thing fruitful in the spring. This seems to be the meaning of the allegory; for Jupiter is commonly taken for the Heaven or æther, and Juno for the air, though some understand by them the air and earth. However that be, the congress of Jupiter and Juno was accounted the great cause of fruitfulness. Homer in the fourteenth book of the Iliad enlarges much upon the story of their loves, more than enough to give occasion to this simile, and describes the earth putting forth her fairest flowers as the immediate effect of them. And Virgil likewise in describing the spring employs the same kind of images, and represents Jupiter operating upon his spouse for the production of all things, Georg. ii. 325.

Tum pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, et omnes
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fœtus.
For then almighty Jove descends, and pours
Into his buxom bride his fruitful show'rs;
And mixing his large limbs with her's, he feeds
Her births with kindly juice, and fosters teeming seeds.
Dryden.

506. *Imparadis'd in one another's arms*,] *Imparadis'd* has been remarked as a word first coined by Milton. But Sir Philip Sidney has it in Arcadia, p. 109. "So this imparadis'd neighbourhood made Zelmane's soul cleave unto her.

515.——*Knowledge forbidden?*] This is artfully perverted by Satan as if some useful and necessary knowledge was forbidden: whereas our first parents were created with perfect understanding, and the only knowledge that was forbidden, was the knowledge of evil, by the commission of it.

549. *Gabriel.*] One of the Arch Angels sent to shew Daniel the vision of the four monarchies and the seventy

weeks, Dan. vii. and ix. and to the Virgin Mary to reveal the incarnation of our Saviour, Luke i. His name in the Hebrew signifies *the man of God*, or *the strength and power of God*; well by our author posted as chief of the angelic guards placed about Paradise.

551. ——*heroic games*] They were not now upon the watch, they awaited night; but their arms were ready. The Angels would not be idle, but employed themselves in these noble exercises. So the soldiers of Achilles during his quarrel with Agamemnon, and so the infernal Spirits, when their chief was gone in search of the new creation.

In ver. 792. Uriel is said to be arrived from *the sun's decline*, which is no more a place than the evening, but beautifully poetical; and justified by Virgil, Georg. iv. 59, where a swarm of bees sails through the glowing summer.

556. *On a sun-beam,*] Uriel's gliding down to the earth upon a sun-beam, with the poet's device to make him *descend*, as well in his return to the sun, as in his coming from it, is a prettiness that might have been admired in a little fanciful poet, but seems below the genius of Milton. The description of the host of armed angels walking their nightly round in Paradise, is of another spirit,

So saying on he led his radiant files
Dazzling the moon;

as that account of the hymns which our first parents used to hear them sing in these their midnight walks, is altogether divine, and inexpressibly amusing to the imagination.

As Uriel was coming from the sun to the earth, his coming upon a sun beam was the most direct and level course that he could take; for the sun's rays were now pointed right against the eastern gate of Paradise, where Gabriel was sitting, and to whom Uriel was going.

556.---*swift as a shooting star*, &c.] Homer in like manner compares Minerva's descent from heaven to a shooting star. The fall of Phæton is illustrated with the same comparison by Ovid. Met. ii. 320.

Volvitur in præceps longoque per aera tractu
Fertur; ut interdum de cœlo stella sereno,
Etsi non cecidit, potuit cecidisse videri.

The breathless Phæton, with flaming hair,
Shot from the chariot, like a falling star,
That in a summer's evening from the top
Of heaven drops down, or seems at least to drop.
Addison.

Milton adds that this shooting star *thwarts* or crosses the night in *autumn*, because then these phænomena are most common after the heat of summer, when the vapours taking fire make violent impressions and agitations in the air, and they usually portend tempestuous weather, as Virgil himself hath noted long ago, Georg. i. 365.

Sæpe etiam stellas vento impendente videbis
Præcipites cœlo labi, noctisque per umbram
Flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus.
And oft before tempestuous winds arise,
The seeming stars fall headlong from the skies;
And shooting through the darkness gild the night
With sweeping glories, and long trails of light. *Dryden.*

592. *Beneath th' Azores;*] They are islands in the Atlantic ocean, nine in number; commonly called the Terceras, from one of them. Some confound the Canaries with them.

598. *Now came still evening on*, &c.] This is the first evening in the poem; for the action of the preceding books lying out of the sphere of the sun, the time could not be computed. When Satan came first to the earth, and made that famous soliloquy at the beginning of this book, the sun was *high in his meridian tower*; and this is the evening of that day; and surely there never was a finer description. The greatest poets in all ages have as it were vied one with another in their descriptions of evening and night; but for the variety of numbers and pleasing images, nothing superior to this is to be found among all the treasures of ancient or modern poetry. We recollect only one description equal to it, and that is of a fine moonshiny night by way of similitude in Homer, Iliad viii. 551. Mr. Pope has taken more than ordinary pains to make the translation excellent as the original.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er Heav'n's clear azure spreads her sacred light,

When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene;
Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole,
O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,
And tipt with silver every mountain's head;
Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies:
The conscious swains rejoicing in the sight,
Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light.

Milton's description, we see, leaves off, where Homer's begins; and though the quotation is somewhat long, yet we hope the reader will be pleased with it, as it is a sort of continuation of the same beautiful scene.

598.- -*and twilight gray*] Milton is very singular in the frequent and particular notice which he takes of the twilight, whenever he has occasion to speak of the evening. There is something so agreeable in that soft and gentle light, and such a peculiar fragrance attends it in the summer months, that it is a circumstance which adds great beauty to his description. Perhaps the weakness of our poet's eyes, to which this kind of light must be vastly pleasant, might be the reason that he so often introduces the mention of it.

Thyer.

628. *That mock our scant manuring,*] Manuring is not here to be understood in the common sense, but as working with hands, as the French *manœuvre*; it is, as immediately after, to lop, to rid away what is scattered.

635. *My Author, &c.*] We have another view of our first parents in their evening discourses, which are full of pleasing images and sentiments suitable to their condition and characters. The speech of Eve in particular is dressed up in so soft a style, as admirably befits an innocent and lovely woman.

641. *Sweet is the breath of morn, &c.*] Mr. Dryden in his preface to Juvenal has observed upon our author, that he could not find any elegant turns in him either on the words or on the thoughts. But Mr. Addison in one of the Tatlers (No. 114.) quotes this delightful passage in vindication of Milton, and remarks, that the variety of images in it is infinitely pleasing,

and the recapitulation of each particular image, with a little varying of the expression, makes one of the finest turns of words he had ever seen. He farther observes, that though the sweetness of these verses has something in it of a pastoral, yet it excels the ordinary kind, as much as the scene of it is above an ordinary field or meadow.

671. *Their stellar virtue*] As Milton was an universal scholar, so he had not a little affectation of showing his learning of all kinds, and makes Adam discourse here somewhat like an adept in astrology, which was too much the philosophy of his own times. What he says afterwards of numberless spiritual creatures walking the earth unseen, and joining in praises to their great Creator, is of a nobler strain, more agreeable to reason and revelation, as well as more pleasing to the imagination.

698. *Iris.*] The flower-de-luce so called from resembling the colours of the Iris or rainbow. *Iris all hues*, that is *of all hues*, as a little before we have *inwoven shade laurel and myrtle*, that is inwoven shade of laurel and myrtle. Such omissions are frequent in Milton.

700.——*the violet,*

Crocus and hyacinth] Our author has taken this from Homer, who makes the same sort of flowers to spring up under Jupiter and Juno as they lay in conjugal embraces upon mount Ida, Iliad. xiv. 347.

Glad earth perceives, and from her bosom pours
Unbidden herbs, and voluntary flow'rs;
Thick new-born violets a soft carpet spread,
And clustring lotos swell'd the rising bed,
And sudden hyacinths the turf bestrow,
And flamy crocus made the mountain glow.

714. *More lovely than Pandora*, &c.] Prometheus the son of *Japhet* (or Japetus) had stolen fire from Heaven, Jove's *authentic fire*, the original and prototype of all earthly fire, which Jupiter being angry at, to be revenged sent him *Pandora*, so called because all the Gods had contributed their gifts to make her more charming (for so the word signifies). She was brought by *Hermes* (Mercury) but was not received by Prometheus the wiser son of *Japhet* (as the name implies) but by his brother Epimetheus *the unwiser son*. She enticed

his foolish curiosity to open a box which she brought, wherein were contained all manner of evils.

The epithet *unwiser* does not imply that his brother Prometheus was unwise. Milton uses *unwiser*, as any Latin writer would *imprudentior, for not so wise as he should have been.* So *audacior, timidior, vehementior, iracundior*, &c. mean *bolder*, &c. *quam par est*, than is right and fit, and imply less than *audax, timidus*, &c. in the positive degree. *Jortin.*

724.—*Thou also mad'st the night*, &c.] A masterly transition this, which the poet makes to their evening worship. Most of the modern heroic poets have imitated the Ancients, in beginning a speech without premising, that the person said thus and thus; but as it is easy to imitate the ancients in the omission of two or three words, it requires judgment to do it in such a manner that they shall not be missed, and that the speech may begin naturally without them.

736. *This said unanimous and other rites*
Observing none, but adoration pure
Which God likes best,] Here Milton expresses his own favourite notions of devotion, which, it is well known, were very much against any thing ceremonial; and this confirms what was observed in his life, that he was full of the interior of religion, though he little regarded the exterior.

744. *Whatever hypocrites*, &c.] Our author calls those, who under a notion of greater purity and perfection decry and forbid marriage as they do in the Church of Rome.

756.——*and all the charities*] *Charities* is used in the Latin signification, and like *caritates* comprehends all the relations and all the endearments of consanguinity and affinity, as in Cicero de Officiis, i. 17. "Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est."

761. *Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc'd*,] In allusion to Heb. xiii. 4. *Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefil'd.* And though this panegyric upon wedded love may be condemned as a digression, yet it can hardly be called a digression, when it grows so naturally out of the subject, and is introduced so properly, while the action of the poem is in a manner suspended, and while Adam and Eve are lying down to sleep; and if morality be one great end of poetry,

that end cannot be better promoted than by such digressions as this and that upon hypocrisy at the latter part of the third book.

769. *Or serenate, which the starv'd lover sings*] We commonly say *serenade* with the French, but Milton keeps, as usual, the Italian word *serenate*, which the starved lover sings, *starved* as this compliment was commonly paid *in sereno*, in clear cold nights. Horace mentions this circumstance repeatedly in his odes.

776. *Now had night measur'd with her shadowy cone*] A cone is a figure round at bottom, and lessening all the way, ends in a point. This is the form of the shadow of the earth, the base of the cone standing on that side of the globe where the sun is not, and consequently when it is night there. This cone to those who are on the darkened side of the earth, could it be seen, would mount as the sun fell lower, and be at its utmost highth in the vault of their heaven when it was midnight.

777.—*this vast sublunar vault*,] For the shadow of the earth sweeps as it were the whole arch or vault of Heaven between the earth and moon, and extends beyond the orbit of the moon, as appears from the lunar eclipses.

782. *Uzziel*,] The next commanding Angel to Gabriel; his name in Hebrew is *the strength of God*, as all God's mighty Angels are.

788. *Ithuriel and Zephon*,] Two Angels having their names as indication of their offices. *Ithuriel*, in Hebrew, *the discovery of God*. *Zephon*, in Hebrew, *a secret or searcher of secrets*.

804. *Or if, inspiring venom*, &c.] So Virg. Æn. vii. 351. where the serpent, that the fury Alecto had flung upon Amata, creeps softly over her,

Vipeream inspirans animam——
Pertentat sensus.

819. *So started up in his own shape the Fiend*] His planting himself at the ear of Eve under the form of a toad, in order to produce vain dreams and imaginations, is a circumstance that surprises the reader; as his starting up in his own form is wonderfully fine, both in the literal description, and in the moral which is concealed under it. His answer, upon his being discovered and demanded to give an account of

himself, is conformable to the pride and intrepidity of his character. Zephon's rebuke, with the influence it had on Satan, is exquisitely graceful and moral. *Addison.*

829.—*there sitting where ye durst not soar:*] As *sitting* is frequently used in the Scriptures, and in other ancient writers, for a posture that implies a high rank of dignity and power; Satan by this expression intimates his great superiority over them, that he had the privilege to *sit*, as an angel of figure and authority, in an eminent part of Heaven, where they *durst not soar*, where they did not presume even to come. *Greenwood.*

834. *To whom thus Zephon,*] Zephon is very properly made to answer him, and not Ithuriel, that each of them may appear as actors upon this occasion. Ithuriel with his spear restored the Fiend to his own shape, and Zephon rebukes him. It would not have been so well, if the same person had done both.

845. *Severe in youthful beauty, added grace*] Virg. Æn. v. 344.

Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.

848. *Virtue in her shape how lovely*; &c.] What is said here of *seeing Virtue in her shape how lovely* is manifestly borrowed from Plato and Cic. de Off. i. 5. as what follows, *saw and pin'd his loss*, is an imitation of Persius, Sat. iii. 38.

883.——*to violate sleep,*] Shakespear in Macbeth has a stronger expression, *to murder sleep*; both equally proper in the places where they are employed.

962.——*arreed*] To decree, to award.

965.——*I drag thee*] The present tense used for the future, to signify the immediate execution of the menace. A Latinism, and very emphatical. *Quæ prima pericula vito.* Virg. Æn. iii. 367. *Cui famula trador? Quem dominum voco?* Senec. Troad. 473. *Richardson.*

966. *And seal thee so*] This seems to allude *to the chaining of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan*, mentioned in the Revelation, xx. 3.

971. *Proud limitary Cherub,*] Thou proud prescribing Angel that presumest to *limit* me, and appoint my prison, according to Mr. Hume. Or rather *limitary*, set to guard the bounds; a taunt insulting the good Angel as one employed

in a little mean office, according to Mr. Richardson. For *limitary* (as Dr. Heylin remarks) is from limitaneus. *Milites limitanei* are soldiers in garrison upon the frontiers. So *Dux limitaneus*. Digest. And as Mr. Thyer farther observes, the word is intended as a scornful sneer upon what Gabriel had just said,

——if from this hour
Within these hollowed *limits* thou appear.

974. *Ride on thy wings*, &c.] This seems to allude to Ezekiel's vision, where four Cherubims are appointed to the four wheels: See chap. i. and x. and xi. 22.

977. *While thus he spake*, &c.] The conference between Gabriel and Satan abounds with sentiments proper for the occasion, and suitable to the persons of the two speakers. Satan clothing himself with terror, when he prepares for the combat, is truly sublime, and at least equal to Homer's description of Discord celebrated by Longinus, or to that of Fame in Virgil, who are both represented with their feet standing upon the earth, and their heads reaching above the clouds. *Addison.*

987. *Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:*] Well may Satan be likened to the greatest mountains, and be said to stand as firm and immoveable as they, when Virgil has applied the same comparison to his hero, Æn. xii 701.

Like Eryx, or like Athos great he shows,
Or father Appennine, when white with snows,
His head divine obscure in clouds he hides,
And shakes the sounding forest on his sides. *Dryden.*

991.—*nor only Paradise* &c.] This representation of what must have happened, if Gabriel and Satan had encountered, is imagined in these few lines with a nobleness suitable to the occasion, and is an improvement upon a thought in Homer, where he represents the terrors which must have attended the conflicts of two such powers as Jupiter and Neptune, Iliad. xv. 224.

And all the Gods that round old Saturn dwell,
Had heard the thunders to the deeps of Hell. *Pope.*

996. *Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray*] The breaking off the combat between Gabriel and Satan, by the hanging out of the golden scales in Heaven, is a refinement upon

Homer's thought, who tells us that before the battle between Hector and Achilles, Jupiter weighed the event of it in a pair of scales. The reader may see the whole passage in the 22d Iliad. Virgil before the last decisive combat describes Jupiter in the same manner, as weighing the fates of Turnus and Æneas. Milton, though he fetched this beautiful circumstance from the Iliad and Æneid, does not only insert it as a poetical embellishment, like the authors above mentioned; but makes an artful use of it for the proper carrying on of his fable, and for the breaking off the combat between the two warriors who were upon the point of engaging. To this we may further add, that Milton is the more justified in this passage, as we find the same noble allegory in holy Writ, where a wicked prince, some few hours before he was assaulted and slain, is said to have been *weighed in the scales and to have been found wanting.* *Addison.*

998. *Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion sign,*] *Libra* or the Scales is one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, as *Astrea* (or Virgo the Virgin) and *Scorpio* also are. This does as it were realize the fiction, and gives consequently a greater force to it.

999. *Wherein all things created first be weigh'd,* &c.] This of weighing the creation at first and of all events since gives us a sublime idea of Providence, and is conformable to the style of Scripture. Job. xxviii. 25.

1012. *Where thou art weigh'd and shown how light, how weak,*] He does not make the ascending scale the sign of victory as in Homer and Virgil, but of lightness and weakness according to that of Belshazzar, Dan. v. 27. *Thou art weigh'd in the balances, and art found wanting.* So true it is, that Milton oftener imitates Scripture than Homer and Virgil, even where he is thought to imitate them most.

BOOK V.

21.——*we lose the prime,*] THE prime of the day; as he calls it elsewhere

——that sweet hour of prime, ver. 170. and ix. 200.

The season prime for sweetest scents and airs.

The word is used by Chaucer and Spenser, as in Faery Queen, book i. cant. 6. st. 13.

They all, as glad as birds of joyous *prime.*

26. *Such whisp'ring wak'd her,*] We were told in the foregoing book how the evil Spirit practised upon Eve as she lay asleep, in order to inspire her with thoughts of vanity, pride, and ambition. The author, who shows a wonderful art throughout his whole poem, in preparing the reader for the several occurrences that arise in it, founds upon the above-mentioned circumstance the first part of the fifth book. Adam upon his awaking finds Eve still asleep, with an unusual discomposure in her looks. The posture in which he regards her, is described with a tenderness not to be expressed, as the whisper with which he awakens her, is the softest that ever was conveyed to a lover's ear. I cannot but take notice that Milton, in the conferences between Adam and Eve, had his eye very frequently upon the book of Canticles, in which there is a noble spirit of eastern poetry, and very often not unlike what we meet with in Homer, who is generally placed near the age of Solomon.

35.——*methought*

Close at mine ear, &c.] Eve's dream is full of those *high conceits ingend'ring pride,* which we are told the Devil endeavoured to instil into her. Of this kind is that part of it

where she fancies herself awakened by Adam in the following beautiful lines,

Why sleep'st thou Eve? *&c.*

An injudicious poet would have made Adam talk through the whole work in such sentiments as these: but flattery and falshood are not the courtship of Milton's Adam, and could not be heard by Eve in her state of innocence, excepting only in a dream produced on purpose to taint her imagination. Other vain sentiments of the same kind in this relation of her dream will be obvious to every reader. Tho' the catastrophe of the poem is finely presaged on this occasion, the particulars of it are so artfully shadowed, that they do not anticipate the story which follows in the ninth book. I shall only add, that though the vision itself is founded upon truth, the circumstances of it are full of that wildness and inconsistency, which are natural to a dream. *Addison.*

53. *Much fairer to my fancy than by day:*] As the sensations are often more pleasing, and the images more lively, when we are asleep than when we are awake. And what can be the cause of this? Our author plainly thinks it may be effected by the agency of some spiritual being upon the sensory while we are asleep. Great as was Milton's genius, he was not so far advanced in philo ophy as to reject all hypotheses concerning efficient causes of phaenomena in either the natural or moral world.

94.——*and thus Adam*] Adam, conformable to his superior character for wisdom, instructs and comforts Eve upon this occasion. *Addison.*

145.——*each morning duly paid*
In various stile;] As it is very well known that our author was no friend to set forms of prayer, it is no wonder that he ascribes extemporary effusions to our first parents; but even while he attributes strains *unmeditated* to them, he himself imitates the Psalmist.

153. *These are thy glorious works*, &c.] The morning hymn is written in imitation of one of those Psalms, where in the overflowings of gratitude and praise the Psalmist calls not only upon the Angels, but upon the most conspicuous parts of the inanimate creation, to join with him in extolling their common Maker. Invocations of this nature fill the mind

with glorious ideas of God's works, and awaken that divine enthusiasm, which is so natural to devotion. But if this calling upon the dead parts of nature is at all times a proper kind of worship, it was in a particular manner suitable to our first parents, who had the creation fresh upon their minds, and had not seen the various dispensations of Providence, nor consequently could be acquainted with those many topics of praise, which might afford matter to the devotions of their posterity. I need not remark the beautiful spirit of poetry, which runs through this whole hymn, nor the holiness of that resolution with which it concludes.

173. *In thy eternal course,*] In thy continual course. Thus Virgil calls the sun, moon and stars *eternal fires*, Æn. ii. 154. Vos, *æterni* ignes; and the sacred fire, that was constantly kept burning, *eternal fire*, Æn. ii. 297.

Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.

181.—*that in quaternion run* &c.] That in a fourfold mixture and combination run a perpetual circle, one element continually changing into another, according to the doctrine of Heraclitus, borrowed from Orpheus. "Et cum quatour sint genera corporum, vicissitudine eorum mundi continuata natura est. Nam ex terra, aqua: ex aqua, oritur aer: ex aere, æther: deinde retrorsum vicissim ex athere, aer: inde aqua: ex aqua, terra infima. Sic naturis his, ex quibus omnia constant, sursus, deorsus, ultro, citro commeantibus, mundi partium conjunctio continetur." Cicero de Nat. Deor. ii. 33. The physical systems of the ancients were mere fictions of the imagination, not conclusions of reason from fact and experiment. They were ingenious poetry, not true philosophy.

205. ——*be bounteous still*
To give us only good;] He had his thought on that celebrated prayer in Plato, "O Jupiter, give us good things, whether we pray for them or not, and remove from us evil things, even though we pray for them." And we learn from the first book of Xenophon's memoirs of his master Socrates, that Socrates was wont to pray to the Gods only to give good things, as they knew best what things were so.

216. *To wed her elm*;] Hor. Epod. ii. 9.

—Aut adulta vitium propagine

Altas maritat populos:
Inutilesque falce ramos amputans,
Feliciores inserit.

Adam and Eve are very well employed in *checking fruitless embraces*, and *leading the vine to wed her elm*: that is very fitly made the employment of a married couple, which is urged in Ovid as an argument to marriage, Met. xiv. 661.

An elm was near, to whose embraces led,
The curling vine her swelling clusters spread:
He view'd their twining branches with delight,
And prais'd the beauty of the pleasing sight,
Yet this tall elm, but for his vine (he said)
Had stood neglected, and a barren shade;
And this fair vine, but that her arms surround
Her marry'd elm, had crept along the ground. *Pope.*

235. *Happiness in his pow'r left free to will,*] That is in the power of him left free to will.

247.——*nor delay'd the winged saint*, &c.] Raphael's departure from before the throne, and his flight through the quires of Angels, is finely imaged. As Milton every where fills his poem with circumstances that are marvellous and astonishing, he describes the gate of Heaven as framed after such a manner, that it opened of itself upon the approach of the Angel who was to pass through it. The poet here seems to have regarded two or three passages in the 18th Iliad, as that in particular, where speaking of Vulcan, Homer says, that he had made twenty tripodes running on golden wheels; which upon occasion might go of themselves to the assembly of the Gods, and when there was no more use for them, returned again after the same manner. Scaliger has rallied Homer very severely upon this point, as M. Dacier has endeavoured to defend it. I will not pretend to determine, whether in this particular of Homer, the marvellous does not lose sight of the probable. As the miraculous workmanship of Milton's gates is not so extraordinary as this of the tripodes, so I am persuaded he would not have mentioned it, had not he been supported in it by a passage in the Scripture, which speaks of wheels in Heaven that had life in them, and moved of themselves, or stood still, in conformity with the Cherubims, whom they accompanied.

There is no question but Milton had this circumstance in his thoughts, because in the following book he describes the chariot of the Messiah with living wheels, according to the plan of Ezekiel's vision. I question not but Bossu and the two Daciers, who are for vindicating every thing that is censured in Homer, by something parallel in holy Writ, would have been very well pleased had they thought of confronting Vulcan's tripodes with Ezekiel's wheels. *Addison.*

254.—*the gate self-open'd wide*] This circumstance is not borrowed, as Mr. Addison conceived, from Vulcan's tripodes in Homer, but from Homer's making the gates of Heaven open of their own accord to the Deities who passed through them, Iliad. v. 749.

Heav'n gates spontaneous open to the Pow'rs,

Heav'n's golden gates, kept by the winged Hours. *Pope,*

Where Mr. Pope observes that the expression *of the gates of Heav'n* is in the eastern manner, where they said the *gates* of Heaven or Earth for the entrance or extremities of Heaven or Earth; a phrase usual in the Scriptures, as is observed by Dacier.

261.——*As when by night the glass*, &c.] The Angel from Heaven gate viewing the earth is compared to an astronomer observing the moon through a telescope, or to a pilot at sea discovering an island at a distance. *As when by night the glass of Galileo*, the telescope first used in celestial observations by Galileo: *Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades*, a parcel of islands in the Archipelago, *Delos or Samos first appearing*, two of the largest of these islands, and therefore first appearing, *kens a cloudy spot*, for islands seem to be such at their first appearance. But the Angel sees with greater clearness and certainty than these; the glass is *less assur'd*, and the pilot *kens* only *a cloudy spot*, when the Angel sees not the whole globe only, but distinctly the mount of Paradise.

266.——*Down thither prone in flight*, &c.] Virg. Æn. iv. 253.

—hinc toto præceps se corpore ad undas
Misit, avi similis.

272. *A Phœnix*,] This bird was famous among the Ancients, but generally looked upon by the Moderns as fabulous. The naturalists speak of it as single, or the only one of its

kind, and therefore it is called here *that sole bird*, as it had been before by Tasso *unico augello*. They describe it as of a most beautiful plumage. They hold that it lives five or six hundred years; that when thus advanced in age, it builds itself a funeral pile of wood and aromatic gums, which being kindled by the sun it is there consumed by the fire, and another Phœnix arises out of the ashes, ancestor and successor to himself, who, taking up the reliques of his funeral pile, flies with them to Egyptian Thebes to inshrine them there in the temple of the Sun, the other birds attending and gazing upon him in his flight. *Egyptian Thebes*, to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Bœotia. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. x. c. 2.

275.——*on th' eastern cliff*] For there was the only gate of Paradise, iv. 178. The good Angel enters by the gate, and not like Satan.

284.—*with feather'd mail,*
Sky-tinctur'd grain.] Feathers lie one short of another resembling the plates of metal of which coats of mail are composed. Sky-coloured, dyed in grain, to express beauty and durableness. *Richardson.*

285.—*like Maia's son he stood*, &c.] Raphael's descent to the earth, with the figure of his person, is represented in very lively colours. Several of the French, Italian, and English poets have given a loose to their imaginations in the description of Angels; but I do not remember to have met with any so finely drawn, and so conformable to the notions which are given of them in Scripture, as this in Milton — After having set him forth in all his heavenly plumage, and represented him as alighting upon the earth, the poet concludes his description with a circumstance, which is altogether new, and imagined with the greatest strength of fancy.

—Like Maia's son he stood.
And shook his plumes, that heav'nly fragrance fill'd
The circuit wide. *Addison.*

298. *Him through the spicy forest*] Raphael's reception by the guardian Angels; his passing through the wilderness of sweets; his distant appearance to Adam, have all the graces that poetry is capable of bestowing. *Addison.*

299.—*as in the door he sat*] So Abraham, Gen. xviii. 1.

310.——*seems another morn*] The nominative case is here understood, the *glorious shape* before mentioned.

325.——*and superfluous moist consumes:*] This is rather too philosophical for the female character of Eve: and one of Milton's greatest faults is his introducing inconsistencies in the characters both of Angels and Man by mixing too much with them his own philosophical notions.

331. *So saying with dispatchful looks*, &c.] The author gives us here a particular description of Eve in her domestic employments. Though in this, and other parts of the same book, the subject is only the housewifry of our first parent, it is set off with so many pleasing images and strong expressions, as make it none of the least agreeable parts in this divine work. *Addison.*

333. *What choice to choose*] This sort of jingle is very usual in Milton, as to *move motion*, viii. 130. *thoughts mis-thought*, ix. 289. *sinn'd sin*, xi. 427. and is not unusual in the best classic authors, as in Terence, Andr. v. 8.

Nam hunc scio mea solide solum *gravisurum gaudia.*

and in Virgil, Æn. xii. 680.

—hunc, oro, sine me *furere* ante *furorem:*

and many more instances might be given.

338. *Whatever Earth all bearing mother*] She gathered all manner of fruits which the Earth at that time afforded, or has since produced in the noblest and best cultivated gardens.

339.——*or middle shore*, &c.] Or on the borders of the Mediterranean; *in Pontus*, part of Asia, *or the Punico coast*, part of Africa, *or where Alcinous reign'd*, in a Grecian island in the Ionian sea (now the gulf of Venice) anciently called Phæacia, then Corcyra, now Corfue, under the dominion of the Venetians. The soil is fruitful in oil, wine, and most excellent fruits, and its owner is made famous for his gardens celebrated by Homer.

344. —*for drink the grape*
She crushes, inoffensive must,] By the word *inoffensive* Milton intends to hint at the latter invention of fermenting the juice of the grape, and thereby giving it an intoxicating quality. This he would say was not the wine of Paradise.

349.——*from the shrub unfum'd.*] That is not burnt and

exhaling smoke as in fumigations, but with its natural scent.

356.——*besmear'd with gold*] Horace's *aurum vestibus illitum*, Od. iv. ix. 14. comes nearest to it.

Virgil has used a like expression, Æn. x. 314.

Per tunicam *squallentem aura*. *Richardson.*

361.——*Native of Heav'n, for other place*
None can than Heav'n such glorious shape contain;] Milton in the turn of these words very plainly alludes to what Æneas says to Venus in the first Æneid, ver. 327.

O, quam te memorem, Virgo? namque haud tibi vultus
Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat;
O Dea certe.

378.—*Pomona's arbour*] The Goddess of fruit-trees might well be supposed to have a delightful arbour, but that could not be more delightful in imagination, than this was in reality. See Ovid. Met. xiv. 623, &c.

380 *Undeck'd save with herself*,] This is simplex munditiis indeed, beyond Horace's, and makes an excellent contrast to Ovid's description of the fine lady full dressed,

—pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

It calls to mind that memorable saying, "Induitur, formosa est; exuitur, ipsa forma est." Dressed, she is beautiful; undressed, she is beauty itself. With the same elegance of expression, describing Adam, he has said,

—in himself was all his state.

382. *Of three that in mount Ida naked strove*,] The judgment of Paris is very well known in preferring Venus to Juno and Minerva, that is, beauty to power and wisdom; a different choice from that of young Solomon, who desired wisdom rather than riches and honour.

385.——*On whom the Angel hail*, &c.] The natural majesty of Adam, and at the same time his submissive behaviour to the superior being, who had vouchsafed to be his guest; the solemn *Hail*, which the Angel bestows upon the mother of mankind, with the figure of Eve ministring at the table, are circumstances which deserve to be admired.

394. *All autumn pil'd*,] The table had mossy seats round it, and all autumn piled upon it, that is, the fruits of autumn. So in Virg. Georg. ii. 5.

—pampineo gravidus autumno
Floret ager.

407. *No' ingrateful food:*] There being mention made in Scripture of *Angels food*, Psal. lxxviii. 25, that is foundation enough for a poet to build upon, and advance these notions of the Angels eating.

415.—*of elements*, &c.] Dr. Bentley is for omitting here eleven lines together, but we cannot agree with him in thinking them the editor's, though we entirely agree with him in wishing, that the author had taken more care what notions of philosophy he had put into the mouth of an Arch-Angel. It is certainly a great mistake to attribute the *spots* in the moon (which are owing to the inequalities of her surface, and to the different nature of her constituent parts, land and water) to *vapours not yet turned into her substance.* It is certainly very *unphilosophical* to say that the sun *sups with the ocean*, but it is not *unpoetical.* And whatever other faults are found in these lines, they are not so properly the faults of Milton, as of his times, and of those systems of philosophy which he had learned in his younger years. If he had written after the late discoveries and improvements in science, he would have written in another manner.

426.——*Though in Heav'n the trees*, &c.] In mentioning *trees of life* and *vines* in Heaven he is justified by Scripture. See Rev. xxii. 2. Mat. xxvi. 29.

435. ——*the common gloss*
Of Theologians;] The usual comment and exposition of divines. For several of the Fathers and ancient Doctors were of opinion, that the Angels did not really eat, but only seemed to do so; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael says in the book of Tobit, xii. 19. "All these days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a vision." But our author was of the contrary opinion, that the Angel did not eat in appearance only but in reality, *with keen dispatch of real hunger* as he says, and this opinion is confirmed by the accounts in the Canonical Scripture of Abraham's entertaining three Angels at one time, and Lot's entertaining two Angels at another. See Gen. xviii. and xix.

445. *With pleasant liquors crown'd:*] To crown their cups, was

a phrase among the Greeks and Romans for filling them above the brim, but yet not so as to run over. So it is used by Homer, Iliad. i. 470;

and by Virgil, Georg. ii 528.

———et socii cratera coronant.

467. ——*yet what compare?*] *His speech* was *wary*; and he was afraid to ask the Angel directly of the different conditions of Men and Angels; but yet intimates his desire to know, by questioning whether there was any comparison between them.

468. *To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd*] Raphael's behaviour is every way suitable to the dignity of his nature, and to that character of a sociable Spirit, withwhich the author has so judiciously introduced him. He had received instructions to converse with Adam, as one friend converses with another, and to warn him of the enemy who was contriving his destruction: accordingly he is represented as sitting down at table with Adam, and eating of the fruits of Paradise. The occasion naturally leads him to his discourse on the food of Angels. After having thus entered into conversation with Man upon more indifferent subjects, he warns him of his obedience, and makes a natural transition to the history of that fallen Angel, who was employed in the circumvention of our first parents. *Addison.*

478. *Till body up to spirit work*, &c.] Our author should have considered things better, for by attributing his own false notions in philosophy to an Arch-Angel, he has really lessened the character, which he intended to raise. He is as much mistaken here in his metaphysics, as he was before in his physics. This notion of matter refining into spirit is by no means observing the *bounds proportioned to each kind.* I suppose, he meant it as a comment on the doctrine of a natural body changed into a spiritual body, as in 1 Cor. xv. and perhaps borrowed it from some of his systems of divinity. For Milton, as he was too much of a materialist in his philosophy, so he was too much of a systematist in his divinity.

509.—*and the scale of nature set*
From centre to circumference,] The scale or ladder of nature ascends by steps from a point, a centre, to the whole circum-

ference of what mankind can see or comprehend. The metaphor is bold and vastly expressive. *Matter, one first matter* is this centre; nature infinitely diversified is the scale which reaches to the utmost of our conceptions, all round. We are thus led to God; whose circumference *who can tell? Uncircumscrib'd he fills infinitude*, vii. 170. *Richardson.*

512. *By steps we may ascend to God.*] There is a real visible ladder (besides that visionary one of Jacob) whose foot, tho' placed on the earth amongst the lowest of the creation, yet leads us *by steps in contemplation of created things* up to God, the invisible creator of all things.

548. ——*nor knew I not*
To be both will and deed created free;] Nor was it unknown to me that my will and actions are free. I knew I was free. —Two negatives make an affirmative.

551. ——*whose command*
Single is yet so just,] That is the command not to eat of the forbidden tree, the only command given to Man.

557. *Worthy of sacred silence to be heard*;] Worthy of religious silence, such as was required at the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies of the Ancients; alluding to that of Horace, Od. ii. xiii. 29, 30.

Utrumque *sacro digna silentio*
Mirantur umbræ dicere.

563. *High matter thou injoin'st me', O prime of men,*
Sad task and hard, &c.] It is customary with the epic poets to introduce by way of episode and narration the principal events, which happened before the action of the poem commences: and as Homer's Ulysses relates his adventures to Alcinous, and as Virgil's Æneas recounts the history of the siege of Troy and of his own travels to Dido; so the Angel relates to Adam the fall of Angels and the creation of the world.

577. *As yet this world was not*, &c.] Had I followed Monsieur Bossu's method, I should have dated the action of Paradise Lost from the beginning of Raphael's speech in this book, as he supposes the action of the Æneid to begin in the second book of that poem. I could allege many reasons for my drawing the action of the Æneid rather from its immediate beginning in the first book, than from its remote

beginning in the second; and show why I have considered the sacking of Troy as an *episode*, according to the common acceptation of that word. But as this would be a dry unentertaining piece of criticism, I shall not enlarge upon it. Whichever of the notions be true, the unity of Milton's action is preserved according to either of them; whether we consider the fall of Man in its immediate beginning, as proceeding from the resolutions taken in the infernal council, or in its more remote beginning, as proceeding from the first revolt of the Angels in Heaven. The occasion which Milton assigns for this revolt, as it is founded on hints in holy Writ, and on the opinion of some great writers, so it was the most proper that the poet could have made use of. The revolt in Heaven is described with great force of imagination, and a fine variety of circumstances. *Addison.*

579. *Upon her centre pois'd*;] *Ponderibus librata suis*, as Ovid says. Met. i. 13; or as Milton elsewhere expresses it, vii. 242,

And Earth self-balanc'd on her centre hung.

583. *As Heav'n's great year*] Our poet seems to have had Plato's great year in his thoughts.

Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo. Virg. Ecl. iv. 5.

—Et incipient magni procedere menses. Ecl. iv. 12.

Plato's great year of the Heavens is the revolution of all the spheres.

589. *Standards and gonfalons*] A *gonfalon* is some kind of streamer or banner, but of what particuar sort authors do not seem to be at all agreed, and neither is it very material to know.

606. Milton was evidently an Arian in his opinion concerning the subordination of the Son to the Father.

642.———*ambrosial night*] So Homer calls the night *ambrosial*, Iliad. ii. 57; and sleep for the same reason *ambrosial*, ver. 19, because it refreshes and strengthens as much as food, as much as ambrosia.

685. *Tell them that by command*, &c.] He begins his revolt with a lie. So well doth Milton preserve the character given of him in Scripture, John viii. 44. *The Devil is a liar and the father of lies.*

713. *And from within the golden lamps*] Alluding to the lamps

before the throne of God, which St. John saw in his vision, Rev. iv. 5.

716. *Among the sons of morn,*] The Angels are here called *sons of the morning*, as Lucifer is in Isa. xiv. 12, probably upon account of their early creation; or to express the angelic beauty and gladness, the morning being the most delightful season of the day. See Job xi. 17; xxxviii. 7.

718. *And smiling*] Let not the pious reader be offended, because the Supreme Being is represented as *smiling* and speaking ironically of his foes; for such figures of speech are not unusual in the Scripture itself. This is particularly grounded upon Psal. ii. 1, &c. "Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?—against the Lord and against his Anointed——He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision." It appears that our Author had this passage in view, by his making the Son allude so plainly to it in his answer.

746. *Or stars of morning dew drops,*] Innumerable as the stars is an old simile, but this of the stars of morning, dew drops, seems as new as it is beautiful: And the sun *impearls* them, turns them by his reflected beams to seeming pearls; as the morn was said before to sow the earth *with orient pearl*, ver. 2.

761.———*in the dialect of men*] The learned reader cannot but be pleased with the poet's imitation of Homer in this line. Homer mentions persons and things, which he tells us in the language of the Gods are called by different names from those they go by in the language of men. Milton has imitated him with his usual judgment in this particular place, wherein he has likewise the authority of Scripture to justify him. *Addison.*

The scholiasts and commentators upon Homer endeavour to account for this manner of speaking several ways; but the most probable is, that he attributes those names which are in use only among the learned to the Gods, and those which are in vulgar use to men. However that be, this manner of speaking certainly gives a dignity to the poem, and looks as if the poets had conversed with the Gods themselves.

766. *The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;*] Alluding to

Isa. xiv. 13. "I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north."

772. *Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,*] The use of the word *Virtues*, in this line, clearly explains what Milton meant by *th' angelic Virtue* in ver. 371.

Whom thus th' angelic Virtue answer'd mild.

It was an order of Angels distinguished by that name. This is the more evidently his meaning by these lines after ver. 837,

—and all the Spirits of Heav'n
By him created in their bright degrees,
Crown'd them with glory, and to their glory nam'd
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers.

799. ——*much less for this to be our Lord,*] This passage seems to me as inexplicable almost as any in Milton.

802. *Not to serve*] The whole of this speech is a striking exhibition of a factious malecontent, who considers that subordination as a violation of liberty, which is really necessary to its full enjoyment.

Mr. Warburton explains it thus. Who can in reason assume monarchy over those who are his equals? and introduce law and edict upon them, when they can conduct their actions rightly without law? much less for this introduction of law and edict claim the right of dominion. For he thought the *giving* of civil laws did not introduce dominion.

809. *False and proud*] Democratic principles are false, as they do not tend to the happiness of the whole, the object of government; and proud, as they arise from a desire in individuals to exalt themselves above their superiors.

835.—*by whom*, &c.] Cor. i. 16, 17. "For by him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist:" and the conclusion of this speech is taken from the conclusion of Psal. ii.

861.——*when fatal course* &c.] We may observe that our author makes Satan a sort of fatalist. We Angels (says he)

were *self-begot, self-rais'd by our own quick'ning power; when the course of fate had completed its full round and period*, then we were *the birth mature*, the production in due season, *of this our native Heaven.* No compliment to fatalism to put it into the mouth of the Devil.

864. ——*our own right hand*
Shall teach us highest deeds,] Psal. xlv. 4.
Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod missile libro. Virg. Æn. x. 773.

872.—*and as the sound of waters deep*] *The voice of a great multitude* applauding is in like manner compared, Rev. xix. 6, *to the voice of many waters.*

887. *Is now an iron rod to bruise and break*] Alluding to Psal. ii. 9. "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron:" or rather to the old translation, "Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel."

890. *These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath*, &c.] In allusion probably to the rebellion of Korah, &c. Numb. xvi. where Moses exhorts the congregation, saying, "Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, lest ye be consumed in all their sins," ver. 26. But the construction without doubt is deficient. It may be supplied by understanding *but I fly* before the word *lest.*

896. *So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found* &c.] The part of Abdiel, who was the only Spirit that in this infinite host of Angels preserved his allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to us a noble moral of religious singularity. The zeal of the Seraphim breaks forth in a becoming warmth of sentiments and expressions, as the character which is given us of him denotes that generous scorn and intrepidity which attends heroic virtue. The author doubtless designed it as a pattern to those, who live among mankind in their present state of degeneracy and corruption. *Addison.*

BOOK VI.

WE are now entering upon the sixth book of Paradise Lost, in which the poet describes the battle of Angels; having raised his reader's expectation, and prepared him for it by several passages in the preceding books. I omitted quoting these passages in my observations upon the former books, having purposely reserved them for the opening of this, the subject of which gave occasion to them. The author's imagination was so inflamed with this great scene of action, that wherever he speaks of it, he rises, if possible, above himself. Thus where he mentions Satan in the beginning of his poem. i. 44, &c.

—Him the almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire,
Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.

The poet never mentions any thing of this battle but in such images of greatness and terror as are suitable to the subject. Among several others I cannot forbear quoting that passage, where the Power, who is described as presiding over the Chaos, speaks in the second book, ii. 988, &c.

Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With falt'ring speech and visage incompos'd,
Answer'd. I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heav'n's King, though overthrown.
I saw and heard, for such a numerous host
Fled not in silence through the frighted deep
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confusion worse confounded; and Heav'n gate

Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Pursuing.

It required great pregnancy of invention and strength of imagination, to fill this battle with such circumstances as should raise and astonish the mind of the reader; and at the same time an exactness of judgment, to avoid every thing that might appear light and trivial. Those who look into Homer, are surprised to find his battles still rising one above another, and improving in horror, to the conclusion of the Iliad. Milton's fight of Angels is wrought up with the same beauty. It is ushered in with such signs of wrath as are suitable to Omnipotence incensed. The first engagement is carried on under a cope of fire, occasioned by the flights of innumerable burning darts and arrows which are discharged from either host. The second onset is still more terrible, as it is filled with those artificial thunders, which seem to make the victory doubtful, and produce a kind of consternation even in the good Angels. This is followed by the tearing up of mountains and promontories: till, in the last place, the Messiah comes forth in the fulness of majesty and terror. The pomp of his appearance amidst the roarings of his thunders, the flashes of his lightnings, and the noise of his chariot wheels, is described with the utmost force of human imagination. *Addison.*

2. ——*till morn,*
Wak'd by the circling hours, with rosy hand
Unbarr'd the gates of light.] This is copied from Homer's Iliad, v. 749, where the hours are feigned in like manner to guard the gates of Heaven.

Heav'n's golden gates, kept by the winged hours;
Commission'd in alternate watch they stand,
The sun's bright portals and the skies command,
Involve in clouds th' eternal gates of day,
Or the dark barrier roll with ease away. *Pope.*

6. *Where light and darkness* &c.] The making darkness a positive thing is poetical. But besides that, as he thought fit to bring it into Heaven, it could not be otherwise represented. *Warburton.*

15. *Shot through with orient beams*;] This quaint conceit of *night's being shot through*, &c. is much below the usual digni-

ty of Milton's descriptions. The Italian poets, even the very best of them are fond of such boyish fancies, and there is no doubt but we are obliged to them for this.

19. —*war in procinct*,] The Roman soldiers were said to stand *in procinctu* when ready to give the onset.

29. *Servant of God*,] So the name of *Abdiel* signifies in Hebrew.

44. *Go Michael of celestial armies prince*,] As this battle of the Angels is founded principally on Rev. xii. 7, 8, "There was war in Heaven; Michael and his Angels fought against the Dragon, and the Dragon fought and his Angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in Heaven;" Michael is rightly made by Milton the leader of the heavenly armies, and the name in Hebrew signifies the *power of God*. But it may be censured perhaps as a piece of wrong conduct in the poem, that the commission here given is not executed; they are ordered to *drive* the rebel Angels *out from God and bliss*, but this is effected at last by the Messiah alone. Some reasons for it are assigned in the speech of God, ver. 680, and in that of the Messiah, ver. 801, in this book.

55. *His fiery Chaos*] *Chaos* may mean any place of confusion: but if we take it strictly, Tartarus or Hell was built in Chaos (ii. 1002.), and therefore that part of it being stored with fire, may not improperly be called a *fiery Chaos*.

56. —*and clouds began*
To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll, &c.] In this description the author manifestly alludes to that of God descending upon mount Sinai, Exod. xix. 16, &c.

64. *In silence*] So Homer observes, Iliad. iii. 8, to the honour of his countrymen the Grecians, that they marched on in silence, while the Trojans advanced with noise and clamour.

71. —*for high above the ground* &c.] Our author attributes the same kind of motion to the Angels, as the Ancients did to their Gods; which was gliding through the air without ever touching the ground with their feet, or as Milton elsewhere elegantly expresses it (b. viii. 302.) *smooth sliding without step*.

Smooth as the sailing doves they glide along. *Pope*

81. ——*and nearer view* &c.] To the north appeared a

fiery region, and nearer to the view appeared the banded powers of Satan. It appeared a fiery region indistinctly at first, but upon nearer view it proved to be Satan's rebel army.

82. *Bristled with upright beams* &c.] The Latins express this by the word *horrere*, taken from the *bristling* on a wild boar's or other animal's back. Virg. Æn. xi. 601.

—tum late ferreus hastis
Horret ager.

Milton has before, in ii. 513, the expression of *horrent arms.*

93. *And in fierce hosting meet,*] This word *hosting* seems to have been first coined by our author. It is a very expressive word, and formed from the substantive *host.*

101. *Idol of majesty divine,*] This is the very same with what Abdiel afterwards at ver. 114 calls *resemblance of the Highest*, but how judiciously has Milton culled out the word *Idol*, which though it be in its original signification the same as resemblance, yet by its common application always in a bad sense served much better to express the present character of Satan!

111. *Abdiel that sight indur'd not,*] Virg. Æn. ii. 407.

Non tulit hanc speciem furiatâ mente Chorœbus.

113. *And thus his own undaunted heart explores.*] Such soliliquies are not uncommon in the poets at the beginning and even in the midst of battles. A soliliquy upon such an occasion is only making the person *think aloud.*

119. —*trusting in th' Almighty's aid,*] We may remark the piety of the good Angel: and indeed without the divine aid and assistance he would have been by no means a match for so superior an Angel.

137. *Who out of smallest things*] For Milton did not favour the opinion, that the creation was out of nothing. *Could have raised incessant armies.* Mat. xxvi. 53. "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of Angels."

139.—*solitary hand*] His single hand.

147. —*my sect thou seest*; &c.] The use of the word *sect* in this place seems a little forced and singular; and I cannot help thinking but Milton brought it in in order to sneer the Loyalists of his time, who branded all dissenters, of whom he was one, with the opprobious name of Sectaries.

This also accounts for the word *few* in the next line, inasmuch as it suited Milton's particular view better to establish a general maxim than to apply it to the single case of Abdiel.

161. —*that thy success may show*] Thy success, thy ill success; the word success is used in the same sense, ii. 9.

183.—*in Hell thy kingdom*;] Not that it was so at present. This is said by way of anticipation. God had ordered him to be cast out, ver. 52, and what the Almighty had pronounced the good Angel looks upon as done. And this sentiment,

Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let me serve
In Heav'n God ever blest,

is designed as a contrast to Satan's vaunt in i. 263.

Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n.

189. *So say'ing*, &c.] *Saying* is here contracted into one syllable, or is to be pronounced as two short ones, which very well expresses the eagerness of the Angel. He struck at his foe before he had finished his speech, while he was speaking, which is much bettter than Dr. Bentley's reading *So said*, as if he had not aimed his blow, till after he had spoken.

214. *And flying vaulted either host with fire.*] Our author has frequently had his eye upon Hesiod's giant-war, as well as upon Homer, and has imitated several passages; but commonly exceeds his original, as he has done in this particular. Hesiod says that the Titans were overshadowed with darts, Theog. 716; but Milton has improved the horror of the description, and a *shade of darts* is not near so great and dreadful an image as a *fiery cope* or *vault of flaming darts.*

229.—*though number'd such* &c.] Each legion was in number like an army, each single warrior was in strength like a legion, and though led in fight was as expert as a commander in chief. So that the Angels are celebrated first for their *number*, then for their *strength*, and lastly for their *expertness* in war.

236. *The ridges of grim war:*] A metaphor taken from a ploughed field; the men answer to the ridges, between whom, the intervals of the ranks, the furrows are. *The ridges of grim war*, that is the ranks of the army.

236.—*no thought of flight*,] So Homer, Iliad. xi. 71.

None stoop'd a thought to base inglorious flight. *Pope.*

239. *As only in his arm the moment lay*
Of victory;] As if upon his single arm had depended the whole weight of the victory. The *moment*, the weight that turns the balance, as the word signifies in Latin. Ter. Andr. 1. v. 31. Dum in dubio est animus, paulo *momento* huc vel illuc impellitur.

242. *That war and various, sometimes on firm ground*
A standing fight, then soaring &c.] The syntax and sense is, The war was sometimes a standing fight on the ground, and sometimes the war soaring on main wing tormented all the air. *Pearce.*

244. *Tormented all the air*;] Here Milton takes the same liberty of applying the word *torment*, which the Latin poets did in using the term *vexare*.

247. ———*and met in arms*
No equal,] The poet seems almost to have forgotten how Satan was foiled by Abdiel in the beginning of the action: but I suppose the poet did not consider Abdiel as *equal* to Satan, though he gained that accidental advantage over him. Satan no doubt would have proved an overmatch for Abdiel, only for the general engagement which ensued, and broke off the combat between them.

251.—*with huge two-handed sway* &c.] It shows how entirely the ideas of chivalry and romance had possessed him, to make Michael fight with *a two handed* sword.

262. *Author of evil*, &c.] These speeches give breath as it were to the reader after the hurry of the general battle: and prepare his mind, and raise his expectation the more for the ensuing combat between Michael and Satan. It is the practice likewise of Homer and Virgil, to make their heroes discourse before they fight; it renders the action more solemn, and more engages the reader's attention.

282. *The Adversary.*] Not as any enemy in fight may be called, but in a sense peculiar to him, Satan being his name, and Satan in Hebrew signifying *the adversary*.

289. *The strife which thou call'st evil.*] The author gave it
The strife which thou call'st *hateful.*
This appears from Michael's words above, ver. 264.

These acts of *hateful strife*, hateful to all. *Bentley.*

But why may not this *evil* relate to ver. 262? where Satan is called the *author of evil*, of evil displayed in acts of hateful strife: and so in ver. 275, *evil go with thee along* &c. I think that *hateful* would have been a more accurate expression, but *evil* is justifiable. *Pearce.*

306. —*while expectation stood*

In horror;] Expectation is personified in the like sublime manner in Shakespear, Hen. v. act ii.

For now sits expectation in the air.

311. —*if nature's concord broke,*

Among the constellations war were sprung,] The context shows (says Dr. Bentley) that Milton gave it *warfare* instead of *war were.*

321. —*from the armoury of God*] Milton, notwithstanding the sublime genius he was master of, has in this book drawn to his assistance all the helps he could meet with among the ancient poets. The sword of Michael, which makes so great a havoc among the bad Angels, was given him, we are told, out of *the armoury of God.*

The passage is a copy of that in Virgil, wherein the poet tells us, that the sword of Æneas, which was given him by a deity, broke into pieces the sword of Turnus, which came from a mortal forge.

325. —*and in half cut sheer*;—] We have here a fair opportunity to observe how finely great geniuses imitate one another. There is a most beautiful passage in Homer's Iliad, iii. 363, where the sword of Menelaus in a duel with Paris breaks in pieces in his hand.

329. *The griding sword with discontinuous wound*] *Discontinuous wound* is said in allusion to the old definition of a wound, that it separates the continuity of the parts, *vulnos est solutio continui:* and *griding* is an old word for cutting, and used in Spenser, as in Faery Queen, b. ii. cant. 8. st. 36.

That through his thigh the mortal steel did *gride.*

335. —*to his aid was run*] A Latinism; so we have *ventum est* in the lines just before quoted from Virgil,

—postquam arma dei ad Vulcania *ventum est.*

336. —*who interpos'd*] Thus Homer makes the chief of the Trojans interpose between their wounded hero when he

was overborne by Ajax. Satan lighted out of his sun-bright chariot at ver. 103, and according to the Homeric manner is now wounded, and borne (on the shields of Seraphim) back to it, where it was placed out of the range and array of battle. Iliad xiv. 428.

334. ——*for Spirits that live throughout* &c.] Our author's reason for Satan's healing so soon is better than Homer's upon a like occasion, as we quoted it just now. And we see here Milton's notions of Angels. They are vital in every part, and can receive no mortal wound, and cannot die but by annihilation. They are all eye, all ear, all sense and understanding; and can assume what kind of bodies they please. And those notions, if not true in divinity, yet certainly are very fine in poetry; but most of them are not disagreeable to those hints which are left us of these spiritual beings in Scripture.

348. *Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound*
Receive, no more than can the fluid air:] The same comparison in Shakespear, Macbeth, act v.

As easy may'st thou the intrenchant air
With thy keen sword impress, as make me bleed.

350. *All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,*
All intellect, all sense;] This is expressed very much like Pliny's account of God. Nat. Hist. l. i. c. 7. "Quisquis est Deus, si modo est alius, et quacunque in parte, totus est sensus, totus visus, totus auditus, totus animæ, totus animi, totus sui."

362. *And uncouth pain fled bellowing.*] I question not but Milton in his description of his furious Moloch flying from the battle, and bellowing with the wound he had received, had his eye on Mars in the Iliad; who upon his being wounded is represented as retiring out of the fight, and making an outcry louder than that of a whole army when it begins the charge. Homer adds that the Greeks and the Trojans, who were engaged in a general battle, were terrified on each side with the bellowing of this wounded deity. The reader will readily observe, how Milton has kept all the horror of this image, without running into the ridicule of it.

363. *Uriel and Raphaël*] The speaker here is *Raphael*; and it had been improper to mention himself as a third per-

son, and tell his own exploits; but that Adam knew not his name.

365. *Adramelech,*] Hebrew, *Mighty magnificent king,* one of the Idols of Sepharvaim, worshipped by them in Samaria, when transplanted thither by Shalmaneser. 2 Kings xvii. 31. *Asmadai,* the lustful and destroying Angel Asmodeus, mentioned Tobit iii. 8, who robbed Sara of her seven Husbands; of a Hebrew word signifying to *destroy.*

371. *Ariel and Arioch,*] Two fierce spirits, as their names denote. *Ariel* Hebrew, *the lion of God,* or *a strong lion. Arioch,* of the like signification, *a fierce and terrible lion. Ramiel* Hebrew, *one that exalts himself against God.*

373. *I might relate of thousands,* &c.] The poet here puts into the mouth of the Angel an excellent reason for not relating more particulars of this first battle. It would have been improper on all accounts to have enlarged much more upon it, but it was proper that the Angel should appear to know more than he chose to relate, or than the poet was able to make him relate.

382. *Illaudable,*] Is used here much in the same manner as *illaudatus* in Virgil.

—Quis aut Eurysthea durum,
Aut *illaudati* nescit Busiridis aras? Georg. iii. 5.

And the learned reader may, if he pleases, see a dissertation upon that verse of Virgil in the second book of Aulus Gellius.

396. —*till that hour* &c.] It seems a very extraordinary circumstance attending a battle, that not only none of the warriors on either side were capable of death by wound, but on one side none were capable of wound or even of pain. This was a very great advantage on the side of the good Angels; but we must suppose that the rebel Angels did not know their own weakness *till this hour.*

407. *Inducing darkness,*] He seems here to have copied Horace, Sat. i. v. 9.

—Jam *nox inducere* terris
Umbras, et cœlo diffundere signa parabat.

413. *Cherubic waving fires:*] Their watches were *Cherubic waving fires,* that is Cherubim like fires waving; the Cheru-

him being described by our author, agreeably to Scripture, as of a fiery substance and nature.

415. —*and void of rest,*
His potentates to council call'd by night;] So Agamemnon, the Grecians being defeated by Hector, calls a council of the princes and generals by night. Iliad. ix.

418. *O now in danger try'd*, &c.] This speech of Satan is very artful. He flatters their pride and vanity, and avails himself of the only comfort that could be drawn from this day's engagement, thatGod was neither so powerful nor wise as he was taken to be. He was forced to acknowledge that they had suffered some loss and pain, but endeavours to lessen it as much as he can, and attributes it not to the true cause, but to their want of better arms and armour, which he therefore proposes that they should provide themselves withal, to defend themselves and annoy their enemies.

447. *Nisroch*,] A God of the Assyrians, in whose temple at Nineveh Sennacherib was killed by his two Sons, 2 Kings xix. 37; and Isaiah xxxvii. 37. It is not known who this God *Nisroch* was. The Seventy call him *Meserach* in Kings, and *Nasarach* in Isaiah; Josephus calls him *Araskes*. He must have been a principal idol, being worshipped by so great a prince, and at the capital city, Nineveh; which may justify Milton in calling him *of principalities the prime*.

462.——*the worst*
Of evils,] Nisroch is made to talk agreeably to the sentiments of Hieronymus, and those philosophers who maintained that pain was the greatest of evils; there might be a possibility of living without pleasure, but there was no living in pain. A notion suitable enough to a deity of the effeminate Assyrians.

482.—*the deep*] It is commonly used for *Hell*, but here is only opposed to *surface*, ver. 472; and is the same as *deep under ground*, ver. 478, which may likewise explain the word *infernal* in the next line. Not but *infernal flame* may mean flame like that of Hell, Hell having been frequently mentioned before by the Angels, and the idea being well known.

884. *Which into hollow*, &c.] *Which*, that is the materials,

ver. 478. *These*, ver. 482, the deep shall yield, which into hollow engines rammed, with touch of fire shall send forth, *&c. Hollow engines*, great guns, the first invention whereof is ascribed to the author of all evil.

The effects of artillery have been much less hurtful than *a priori* reasoners might have apprehended. This furious engine, says Hume, though it seemed contrived for the destruction of mankind, and the overthrow of empires, has in issue rendered battles less bloody, has given greater stability to civil societies. Nations, by its means, have been brought more to a level; success in war has been reduced nearly to a matter of calculation.

520.—*pernicious with one touch to fire.*] The incentive reed is indeed *pernicious* as the engines and balls do no mischief till touched by that; but probably *pernicious* is not to be understood here in the common acceptation, but in the sense of the Latin *pernix*, quick, speedy, *&c.*

521.—*under conscious night,*] Ovid. Met. xiii. 15.

—quorum nox conscia sola est.

527. *Of golden panoply,*] With golden armour from head to foot completely armed. *Panoply* from the Greek, armour at all points.

532.—*halt:*] Milton spells it as the Italians do *alto*, but we commonly write it with an *h* like the French and Germans.

533.—*in slow*

But firm battalion;] The reason of their being both a *slow* and *firm battalion* is suggested a little afterwards. They were *slow* in drawing their cannon, and *firm* in order to conceal it, ver. 551.

541. *Sad resolution and secure:*] By *sad* here is meant sour and sullen, as *tristis* in Latin and *tristo* in Italian signify. Or possibly it means no more than serious or in earnest, a sense frequent in all our old authors. There is a remarkable instance of the use of the word in Lord Bacon's Advice to Villiers Duke of Buckingham; "But if it were an embassy of weight, concerning affairs of state, choice was made of some *sad* person of known judgment, wisdom, and experience, and not of a young man, not weighed in state matters," *&c.*

546. ——*barb'd with fire.*] Bearded, headed with fire. Of the French *barbe*, and the Latin *barba*, a beard.

548. —*quit of all impediment*;] The carriages and baggage of an army were called in Latin *impedimenta*: and the good Angels are said to be *quit of all impediment* in opposition to the others incumbered with their heavy artillery.

568. *So scoffing in ambiguous words*, &c.] We cannot pretend entirely to justify this *punning* scene: but we should consider that there is very little of this kind of wit anywhere in the poem but in this place, and in this we may suppose Milton to have sacrificed to the taste of his times, when *puns* were better relished than they are at present in the learned world.

574. *Or hollow'd bodies* &c.] We must carefully preserve the parenthesis here, as Milton himself has put it. The construction then will be, *Which to our eyes discovered a triple row of pillars laid on wheels*, of *brass*, *iron*, *stony mould*, or substance, *had not their mouths gaped wide*, and showed that they were not pillars; the intermediate words containing a reason why he called them *pillars* (*for like to pillars most they seemed or hollowed bodies* &c.) being concluded in a parenthesis.

578. *Portending hollow truce:*] Here Raphael himself cannot help continuing the pun.

580. *Stood waving*] This must certainly be an error of the press, occasioned by *stood* in the line before or in the line following; but then it is a wonder that Milton did not correct it in his second edition. Dr. Bentley reads

—and in his hand a reed
Held waving tip'd with fire;

and we should substitute some such word as this, as it makes better sense, as well as avoids the repetition of *stood* three times so near together.

586.—*deep throated engines*] So Shakespear in Othello, act iii.

And oh, you mortal engines, whose rude throats
Th' immortal Jove's dread clamours counterfeit.

586. —*whose roar*
Imbowel'd with outrageous noise the air,
And all her entrails tore,] The construction seems to be, *The roar of which* (engines) *embowel'd with outrageous noise tore the air and all her entrails.*

599. —*serried files*,] The Italian word *serrato*, close, compact. *Thyer.*

620. *To whom thus Belial*] Whoever remembers the character of *Belial* in the first and second books, and Mr. Addison's remarks upon it, will easily see the propriety of making *Belial* reply to Satan upon this occasion, and in this sportive manner, rather than *Beelzebub* or *Moloch*, or any of the evil Angels.

643. *From their foundations*, &c.] There is nothing in the first and last day's engagement which does not appear natural, and agreeable to the ideas which most readers would conceive of a fight between two armies of Angels. The second day's engagement is apt to startle an imagination which has not been raised and qualified for such a description, by the reading of the ancient poets, and of Homer in particular. It was certainly a very bold thought in our author, to ascribe the first use of artillery to the rebel Angels. But as such a pernicious invention may be well supposed to have proceeded from such authors, so it entered very properly into the thoughts of that being, who is all along described as aspiring to the majesty of his Maker. Such engines were the only instruments he could have made use of to imitate those thunders, that in all poetry are represented as the arms of the Almighty. The tearing up the hills was not altogether so daring a thought as the former. We are in some measure prepared for such an incident by the description of the giants war, which we meet with among the ancient poets. What still made the circumstance the more proper for the poet's use is the opinion of many learned men, that the fable of the giants war, which makes so great a noise in antiquity, and gave birth to the sublimest description in Hesiod's works, was an allegory founded upon this very tradition of a fight between the good and the bad Angels. It may perhaps be worth while to consider with what judgment Milton in this narration has avoided every thing that is mean and trivial in the descriptions of the Latin and Greek poets, and at the same time improved every great hint which he met with in their works upon this subject. Homer in that passage which Longinus has celebrated for its sublimity, and which Virgil and Ovid have copied after him, tells us

that the giants threw Ossa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Ossa. He adds an epithet to Pelion, which very much swells the idea, by bringing up to the reader's imagination all the woods that grew upon it. There is further a great beauty in singling out by name these three remarkable mountains, so well known to the Greeks. This last is such a beauty, as the scene of Milton's war could not possibly furnish him with. Claudian, in his fragment upon the giants war, has given full scope to that wildness of imagination which was natural to him. He tells us that the giants tore up whole islands by the roots, and threw them at the Gods He describes one of them in particular taking up Lemnos in his arms, and whirling it to the skies, with all Vulcan's shop in the midst of it. Another tears up mount Ida, with the river Enipeus, which ran down the sides of it; but the poet, not content to describe him with this mountain upon his shoulders, tells us that the river flowed down his back, as he held it up in that posture. It was visible to every judicious reader, that such ideas savour more of burlesque, than of the sublime. They proceed from a wantonness of imagination, and rather divert the mind than astonish it. Milton has taken every thing that is sublime in these several passages, and composes out of them the following great image.

From their foundations loos'ning to and fro
They pluck'd the seated hills with all their load,
Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops
Up-lifting bore them in their hands:

We have the full Majesty of Homer in this short description, improved by the imagination of Claudian, without its puerilities. I need not point out the description of the fallen Angels seeing the promontories hanging over their heads in such a dreadful manner, with the other numberless beauties in this book, which are so conspicuous that they cannot escape the notice of the most ordinary reader. There are indeed so many wonderful strokes of poetry in this book, and such a variety of sublime ideas, that it would have been impossible to have given them a place within the bounds of this paper. Besides that I find it in a great measure done to my hand at the end of my Lord Roscommon's Essay on translated poetry. I shall refer my reader thither for some of the master-

strokes in the sixth book of Paradise Lost, which will be found at the conclusion of the notes on this book. *Addison.*

648. *When coming towards them so dread they saw*] Does not this verse express the very motion of the mountains, and is there not the same kind of beauty in the numbers, that the poet recommends in his excellent Essay on Criticism?

When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,
The line too labours, and the words move slow.

661.—*now gross by sinning grown.*] What a fine moral does Milton here inculcate, and indeed quite through this book, by showing that all the weakness and pain of the rebel Angels was the natural consequence of their sinning! And I believe one may observe in general of our Author, that he is scarcely ever so far hurried on by the fire of his Muse, as to forget the main end of all good writing, the recommendation of virtue and religion.

666. *That under ground they fought in dismal shade*;] It was a memorable saying of one of the Spartans at Thermopylæ, who being told that the multitude of Persian arrows would obscure the sun, why then says he, we shall fight in the shade. But what was a shade of *arrows* to a shade of *mountains*, hurled to and fro, and encountering in mid air!

669. —*and how all Heaven*
Had gone to wrack——] It is remarked by the critics in praise of Homer's battles, that they rise in horror one above another to the end of the Iliad. The same may be said of Milton's battles. In the first day's engagement, when they fought under a cope of fire with burning arrows, it was said

——all Heaven
Resounded, and had earth been then, all Earth
Had to her centre shook.

But now, when they fought with mountains and promontories, it is said *All Heaven had gone to wrack*, had not the almighty Father interposed, and sent forth his Son in the fulness of the divine glory and majesty to expel the rebel Angels out of Heaven.

674. ——*advis'd*:] Is here a participle adverbial, and very elegant; it means advisedly.

679. *Th' assessor of his throne*] So the Son is called in some of the Fathers, Dei assessor.

691. —*which yet hath wrought*
Insensibly.] This word does not seem well to consist with that alteration, which the Angel had just before said that sin had wrought in the fallen Angels. But probably the author meant that the manner in which sin wrought was *insensible*, not the effects.

695. *War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,*] And indeed within the compass of this one book we have all the variety of battles that can well be conceived. We have a single combat and a general engagement. The first day's fight is with darts and swords, in imitation of the Ancients; the second day's fight is with artillery, in imitation of the Moderns; but the images in both are raised proportionably to the superior nature of the beings here described. And when the poet has briefly comprised all that has any foundation in fact and reality, he has recourse to the fictions of the poets in their descriptions of the giants war with the Gods. And when *war hath* thus *performed what war can do*, he rises still higher, and the Son of God is sent forth in the majesty of the almighty Father, agreeably to Scripture; so much doth the sublimity of holy Writ transcend all that is true, and all that is feigned in description.

710. *Go then thou Mightiest* &c.] The following lines in that glorious commission, which is given the Messiah to extirpate the host of rebel Angels, are drawn from a sublime passage in the Psalms. The reader will easily discover many other strokes of the same nature. *Addison.*

The Psalm here meant is the xlvth, ver 3. and 4. *Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty: and in thy majesty ride prosperously*, &c.

732. *Thou shalt be all in all*, &c.] We may still observe that Milton generally makes the divine persons talk in the style and language of the Scripture. This passage is manifestly taken from 1. Cor. xv. 24. and 28.

746. *So said, he o'er his scepter bowing, rose* &c.] The description of the Messiah's going out against the rebel Angels is a scene of the same sort with Hesiod's Jupiter against the Titans. They are both of them the most undoubted in-

stances of the true sublime. There is a greater profusion of poetical images in that of the latter; but then the superior character of a Christian Messiah, which Milton has with great judgment and majesty supported in this part of his work, gives an air of religious grandeur, which throws the advantage on the side of the English poet.

748. *And the third sacred morn* &c.] Milton, by continuing the war for three days, and reserving the victory upon the third for the Messiah alone, plainly alludes to the circumstances of his death and resurrection. Our Saviour's extreme sufferings on the one hand, and his heroic behaviour on the other, made the contest seem to be more equal and doubtful upon the first day; and on the second Satan triumphed in the advantages he thought he had gained, when Christ lay buried in the earth, and was to outward appearance in an irrecoverable state of corruption: but as the poet represents the almighty Father speaking to his Son, ver. 699,

Two days are therefore past, the third is thine;
For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus far
Have suffer'd, that the glory may be thine
Of ending this great war, since none but Thou
Can end it.

Which he most gloriously did, when *the third sacred morn began to shine*, by vanquishing with his own almighty arm the powers of Hell, and rising again from the grave: and thus as St. Paul says, Rom. i. 4. "He was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead." *Greenwood.*

749. —*forth rush'd with whirlwind sound* &c.] Milton has raised his description in this book with many images taken out of the poetical parts of Scripture. The Messiah's chariot is formed upon a vision of Ezekiel, who as Grotius observes, has very much in him of Homer's spirit in the poetical parts of his prophecy. *Addison.*

The whole description indeed is drawn almost word for word from Ezekiel, as the reader will see by comparing them together.

—forth rush'd with whirlwind sound
The chariot of paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames,

" And I looked, and behold a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself." i. 4. Or perhaps the author here drew Isaiah likewise to his assistance, Isa. lxvi. 15. " For behold the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind."

—wheel within wheel undrawn,
Itself instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd
By four Cherubic shapes;

" Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures, and their appearance was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel; and when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them, for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels. i. 5, 16, 19, 20.

—four faces each
Had wondrous; as with stars their bodies all
And wings were set with eyes, with eyes the wheels.

" And every one had four faces:" i. 6. " And their whole body, and their wings, and their wheels, were full of eyes round about:" x. 12.

—the wheels
Of beril, and carreering fires between;

The *beril* is a precious stone of a sea green colour, and *carreering fires*, are lightnings darting out by fits, a metaphor taken from the running in tilts: " The appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the colour of a beril; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning."

760. *He in celestial panoply all arm'd*
Of radiant Urim,] All armed in complete heavenly armour of radiant light. *Celestial panoply* is an allusion to St. Paul's expression, Eph. vi. 11. *Put on* the panoply, *the whole armour of God.*

781. *At his command* &c.] We frequently read in the Scriptures of the hills and mountains trembling and moving at the presence or command of the Lord: but it is generally, if not always, mentioned as the effect or proof of his high displeasure. Here the poet lays hold of the same thought, and applies it as an instance of his great goodness, to *renew the wonted face of Heaven.*

788. *In heav'nly Spi'rits could such perverseness dwell?*

—Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ? Virg. Æn. i. 11.

842. *That wish'd the mountains now might be again* &c.] So Rev. vi. 16, which is very applicable here, as they had been overwhelmed with mountains. See ver. 655. What was so terrible before, they wished *as a shelter* now.

853. *Yet half his strength he put not forth,* &c] There is no question but Milton had heated his imagination with the fight of the Gods in Homer, before he entered upon this engagement of the Angels. Homer there gives us a scene of men, heroes and Gods, mixed together in battle. Mars animates the contending armies, and lifts up his voice in such a manner, that it is heard distinctly, amidst all the shouts and confusion of the fight. Jupiter at the same time thunders over their heads; while Neptune raises such a tempest, that the whole field of battle, and all the tops of the mountains shake about them. The poet tells us, that Pluto himself, whose habitation was in the very centre of the earth, was so affrighted at the shock, that he leaped from his throne. Homer afterwards describes Vulcan as pouring down a storm of fire upon the river Xanthus, and Minerva as throwing a rock at Mars, who he tells us covered seven acres in his fall. As Homer has introduced into his battle of the Gods every thing that is great and terrible in nature, Milton has filled his fight of good and bad Angels with all the like circumstances of horror. The shouts of armies, the rattling of brazen chariots, the hurling of rocks and mountains, the earthquake, the fire, the thunder, are all of them employed to lift up the reader's imagination, and give him a suitable idea of so great an action. With what art has the poet represented the whole body of the earth trembling, even before it was created!

All Heaven resounded, and had earth been then
All earth had to her centre shook.

In how sublime and just a manner does he afterwards describe the whole Heaven shaking under the wheels of the Messiah's chariot, with that exception to the throne of God.

—Under his burning wheels
The stedfast empyréan shook throughout,
All but the throne itself of God.

Notwithstanding the Messiah appears clothed with so much terror and majesty, the poet has still found means to make his readers conceive an idea of him, beyond what he himself was able to describe.

Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
His thunder in mid volley; for he meant
Not to destroy but root them out of Heav'n.

In a word, Milton's genius, which was so great in itself, and so strengthened by all the helps of learning, appears in this book every way equal to his subject, which was the most sublime that could enter into the thoughts of a poet. As he knew all the arts of affecting the mind, he knew it was necessary to give it certain resting places, and opportunities of recovering itself from time to time: he has therefore with great address interspersed several speeches, reflections, similitudes, and the like reliefs to diversify his narration, and ease the attention of the reader, that he might come fresh to his great action, and by such a contrast of ideas have a more lively taste of the nobler parts of his description. *Addison.*

856. ——*and as a herd*
Of goats &c.] It may seem strange that our author, amidst so many sublime images, should intermix so low a comparison as this. But it is the practice of Homer; and we have some remarkable instances in the second book of the Iliad, where, in a pompous description of the Grecians going forth to battle, and amidst the glare of several noble similitudes, they are compared for their number to *flies about a shepherd's cottage, when the milk moistens the pails*; and after he has compared Agamemnon to Jove, and Mars, and Neptune, he compares him again to a *bull*. But we may observe, to the advantage of our author, that this low simile is not applied as Homer's similies are, to the persons he meant to honour, but to the contrary party; and the lower the comparison, the more it expresses their defeat. And there is the greater propriety in the similitude of *goats* particularly, because our Saviour represents the wicked under the same image, as the good are called *the sheep*, Mat. xxv. 33.

893. *Thus measuring things in Heav'n by things on earth*, &c.] He repeats the same kind of apology here in the conclusion,

that he made in the beginning of his narration. See v. 573, &c.

By likening spiritual to corporeal form, &c.

and it is indeed the best defence that can be made for the bold fictions in this book, which though some cold readers may perhaps blame, yet the coldest, I conceive, cannot but admire. It is remarkable too with what art and beauty the poet, from the highth and sublimity of the rest of this book, descends here at the close of it, like the lark from her loftier notes in the clouds, to the most prosaic simplicity of language and numbers; a simplicity which not only gives it variety, but the greatest majesty, as Milton himself seems to have thought, by always choosing to give the speeches of God and the Messiah in that style, though these I suppose are the parts of this poem, which Dryden censures as the flats which he often met with for thirty or forty lines together.

909. *Thy weaker*;] As St Peter calls the wife *the weaker vessel*. 1 Pet. iii. 7.

It may perhaps be agreeable to the reader to find here at the conclusion of this sixth book the commendations which Lord Roscommon has bestowed upon it in his Essay on Translated Verse, and to which Mr. Addison refers in a note above. That truly noble critic and poet is there making his complaints of the barbarous bondage of rhime, and wishes that the English would shake off the yoke, having so good an example before them as the author of Paradise Lost.

Of many faults rhime is perhaps the cause;
Too strict to rhime, we slight more useful laws.
For that in Greece or Rome, was never known,
Till by Barbarian deluges o'erflown:
Subdued, undone, they did at last obey;
And chang'd their own for their invaders way.
I grant that from some mossy idol oak
In double rhimes our Thor and Woden spoke;
And by succession of unlearned times,
As Bards began, so Monks rung on the chimes.
But now that Phœbus and the sacred Nine
With all their beams on our blest island shine,

Why should not we their ancient rites restore,
And be what Rome or Athens were before?
Have we forgot how Raphael's numerous prose
Led our exalted souls through heav'nly camps,
And marked the ground where proud apostate thrones
Defy'd Jehovah! Here, 'twixt host and host,
(A narrow but a dreadful interval)
Portentous sight! before the cloudy van
Satan with vast and haughty strides advanc'd,
Came towring arm'd in adamant and gold.
There bellowing engines with their fiery tubes
Dispers'd ethereal forms, and down they fell
By thousands, Angels on Arch-Angels roll'd;
Recover'd, to the hills they ran, they flew,
Which (with their pond'rous load, rocks, waters, woods)
From their firm seats torn by the shaggy tops,
They bore like shields before them through the air,
Till more incens'd they hurl'd them at their foes.
All was confusion, Heav'n's foundation shook,
Threatning no less than universal wrack,
For Michael's arm main promontories flung,
And over-press'd whole legions weak with sin;
Yet they blasphem'd and struggled as they lay,
Till the great ensign of Messiah blaz'd,
And (arm'd with vengeance) God's victorious Son
(Effulgence of paternal Deity)
Grasping ten thousand thunders in his hand
Drove th' old original rebels headlong down,
And sent them flaming to the vast abyss.
O may I live to hail the glorious day,
And sing loud Pæans through the crowded way,
When in triumphant state the British Muse,
True to herself shall barb'rous aid refuse,
And in the Roman majesty appear,
Which none know better, and none come so near.

BOOK VII.

1. *Descend from Heav'n, Urania,*] DESCENDE cœlo, Hor. Od. iii. iv. 1; but here it is better applied, as now his subject leads him from Heaven to Earth. The word *Urania* in Greek signifies *heavenly*; and he invokes the *heavenly Muse*, as he had done before, i. 6; and as he had said in the beginning that he *intended to soar above th' Aonian mount*, so now he says very truly that he had effected what he intended, and *soars above the Olympian hill, above the flight of Pegaséan wing*, that is his subject was more sublime than the loftier flights of the Heathen poets.

8. *Before the hills appear'd or fountain flow'd,* &c.] From Prov. viii. 24, 25, 30.

14.—*and drawn empyreal air,*
Thy temp'ring;] This is said in allusion to the difficulty of respiration on high mountains. Air, as every one acquainted with natural philosophy knows, rarifies in a geometrical proportion, according to the arithmetical proportion of the altitude.

17. ——*(as once*
Bellerophon, &c.] *Bellerophon* was a beautiful and valiant youth, son of Glaucus; who refusing the amorous applications of Antea, wife of Præteus king of Argos, was by her false suggestions, like those of Joseph's mistress to her husband, sent into Lycia with letters desiring his destruction; where he was put on several enterprises full of hazard, in which however he came off conqueror: but attempting vain gloriously to mount up to Heaven, on the winged horse Pegasus, he fell and wandered in the *Aleian* plains till he died.

33, *Of Bacchus and his revellers,*] It is not improbable that

the poet intended this as an oblique satire upon the dissoluteness of Charles the second and his court, from whom he seems to apprehend the fate of Orpheus, a famous poet of Thrace, who though he is said to have charmed woods and rocks with his divine songs, yet was torn to pieces by the Bacchanalian women on Rhodope, a mountain of Thrace, nor could the Muse Calliope his mother defend him. *So fail thou not, who thee implores*; nor was his wish ineffectual, for the government suffered him to live and die unmolested.

40. —*what ensued when Raphaël*, &c.] Longinus has observed, that there may be a loftiness of sentiments, where there is no passion, and brings instances out of ancient authors to support this his opinion. The pathetic, as that great critic observes, may animate and inflame the sublime, but is not essential to it. Accordingly as he further remarks, we very often find that those who excel most in stirring up the passions, very often want the talent of writing in the great and sublime manner, and so on the contrary. Milton has shewn himself a master in both these ways of writing. The seventh book, which we are now entering upon, is an instance of that sublime, which is not mixed and worked up with passion. The author appears in a kind of composed and sedate majesty; and though the sentiments do not give so great an emotion, as those in the former book, they abound with as magnificent ideas. The sixth book, like a troubled ocean, represents greatness in confusion; the seventh affects the imagination like the ocean in a calm, and fills the mind of the reader, without producing in it any thing like tumult or agitation. The Critic above mentioned, among the rules which he lays down for succeeding in the sublime way of writing, proposes to his reader, that he should imitate the most celebrated authors who have gone before him, and been engaged in works of the same nature; as in particular, that if he writes on a poetical subject, he should consider how Homer would have spoken on such an occassion. Milton, though his own natural strength of genius was capable of furnishing out a perfect work, has doubtless very much raised and ennobled his conceptions, by such an imitation as that which Longinus has recommended. In this book, which gives us an account of the six days works, the poet receiv-

ed very few assistances from Heathen writers, who were strangers to the wonders of creation. But as there are many glorious strokes of poetry upon this subject in holy Writ, the author has numberless allusions to them through the whole course of this book. *Addison.*

50. *He with his consorted Eve*] *Consorted* from *Consort*, Cum consorte tori, as Ovid says, Met. i. 319.

98. *And the great light of day yet wants to run* &c.] Our author has improved upon Homer, Odyss. xi. 372.

Mr. Thyer is of opinion, that there is not a greater instance of our author's exquisite skill in the art of poetry, than this and the following lines. Lord Shaftsbury has observed, that Milton's beauties generally depend upon solid thought, strong reasoning, noble passion, and a continued thread of moral doctrine; but in this place he has shewn what an exalted fancy and mere force of poetry can do.

215. —*and with the centre mix the pole.*] It is certain that in Chaos was neither centre nor pole; so neither were there any mountains as in the preceding line; the Angel does not say there were: he tells Adam there was such confusion in Chaos, as if on earth the sea in mountainous waves should rise from its very bottom to assault Heaven, and mix the centre of the globe with the extremities of it. The aptest illustration he could possibly have thought of to have given Adam some idea of the thing.

224. —*the fervid wheels,*] Horace's epithet, Od. i. i. 4.

Metaque *fervidis* evitata *rotis*

225. *He took the golden compasses,*] Prov. viii. 27.

The thought of the golden compasses is conceived altogether in Homer's spirit, and is a very noble incident in this wonderful description. Homer, when he speaks of the Gods, ascribes to them several arms and instruments with the same greatness of imagination. Let the reader only peruse the description of Minerva's Ægis or buckler in the fifth book, with her spear which would overturn whole squadrons, and her helmet that was sufficient to cover an army drawn out of a hundred cities. The golden compasses in the above mentioned passage appear a very natural instrument in the hand of him, whom Plato somewhere calls the divine geometrician. As poetry delights in clothing abstracted ideas

in allegories and sensible images, we find a magnificent description of the creation formed after the same manner in one of the Prophets, wherein he describes the almighty Architect as measuring the waters in the hollow of his hand, meting out the Heavens with his span, comprehending the dust of the earth in a measure, weighing the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance. Another of them describing the Supreme Being in this great work of creation, represents him as laying the foundations of the earth, and stretching a line upon it: and in another place as garnishing the Heavens, stretching out the north over the empty place, and hanging the earth upon nothing. This last noble thought Milton has expressed in the following verse,

And Earth self-balanc'd on her centre hung. *Addison.*

249. ——*God saw the light was good*; &c.] What follows is little more than the words of Moses versified. Gen. i. 45. Milton adds how it was divided, *by the hemisphere.*

And light from darkness by the hemisphere
Divided.

256. ——*with joy and shout*
The hollow universal orb they fill'd,] The Angels singing and shouting for joy at the creation of the world, seems to be founded on Job xxxviii. 4, 7.

285. *Immediately the mountains* &c.] We have the same elevation of thought in the third day, when the mountains were brought forth, and the deep was made. We have also the rising of the whole vegetable world described in this day's work, which is filled with all the graces which other poets have lavished on their description of the spring, and leads the reader's imagination into a theatre equally surprising and beautiful. *Addison.*

307. *The dry land, earth,* &c.] These are again the words of Gen. i. 10, 11, formed into verse.

321. *The smelling gourd,*] Dr. Bentley very justly reads here *The swelling gourd*: and to the reasons which he gives, may be added, that Milton here assigns to each of the other tribes or species, an epithet which suits with all the same species: but *smelling*, though it suits with some kinds of the *gourd*, does not suit with all the particulars of that tribe, as *swelling* does.

321. ——*the corny reed*,] The horny reed stood upright among the undergrowth of nature, like a grove of spears or a battalion with its spikes aloft. *Corneus* (Latin) of, or like horn, Virg. Æn. iii. 22.

Forte fuit juxta tumulus, quo *cornea* summo
Virgulta, et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.

331.—*though God had yet not rain'd* &c.] This is not taken, as the rest, from the first, but from the second Chapter of Genesis; but the poet was studious to weave in all that Moses had written of the creation. Gen. ii. 4, 5, 6.

346. *And God made two great lights*,] The several glories of the Heavens made their appearance on the fourth day.

The very words of Moses, *And God made two great lights*; not that they were greater than all other stars and planets, but are only greater lights with reference to Man, and therefore Milton judiciously adds,

——great for their use
To Man, the greater to have rule by day,
The less by night altern;

361. —*made porous to receive*
And drink the liquid light, firm to retain
Her gather'd beams,] Porous yet firm. Milton seems to have taken this thought from what is said of the Bologna stone, which being placed in the light will imbibe, and for some time retain it, so as to enlighten a dark place.

372. ——*jocund to run*
His longitude through Heav'n's high road;] Dr. Bentley calls *longitude* here mere nonsense; and therefore reads *His long career through* &c. But we must not part with *longitude* so easily: it signifies the sun's course from east to west in a straight and direct line: and we find Milton using the word after much the same manner in iii. 576. This passage alludes to Psal. xix. 5, where it is said of the sun, that *he rejoiceth as a giant to run his course.*

400. *With fry innumerable swarm*, &c.] One would wonder how the poet could be so concise in his description of the six days works, as to comprehend them within the bounds of an episode, and at the same time so particular, as to give us a lively idea of them. This is still more remarkable in his account of the fifth and sixth days, in which he

has drawn out to our view the whole animal creation, from the reptile to the behemoth. As the lion and the leviathan are two of the noblest productions in the world of living creatures, the reader will find a most exquisite spirit of poetry in the account which our author gives us of them. The sixth day concludes with the formation of Man, upon which the Angel takes occasion, as he did after the battle in Heaven, to remind Adam of his obedience, which was the principal design of this his visit. *Addison.*

412. *Tempest the ocean:*] Milton has here with very great art and propriety adapted the Italian verb *tempestare.* He could not possibly have expressed this idea in mere English without some kind of circumlocution, which would have weakened and enervated that energy of expression which this part of his description required. Besides no word could be more proper in the beginning of the verse to make it labour like the troubled ocean, which he is painting out.

470. —*scarce from his mould*
Behemoth biggest born of earth upheav'd
His vastness:] The numbers are excellent, and admirably express the heaviness and unwieldiness of the *elephant,* for it is plainly the elephant that Milton means. *Behemoth* and *leviathan* are two creatures, described in the book of Job, and formerly the generality of interpreters understood by them the *elephant* and the *whale:* but the learned Bochart and other later critics have endeavoured to show that *behemoth* is the *river horse,* and *leviathan* the *crocodile.* It seems as if Milton was of the former opinion, by mentioning *leviathan* among the fishes, and the *river horse and scaly crocodile,* ver. 474, as distinct from *behemoth* and *leviathan*; and there is surely authority sufficient to jusify a poet in that opinion.

487. *Pattern of just equality*] We see that our author upon occasion discovers his principles of government.

505. *There wanted yet the master work,* &c.] The author here remembered and copied Ovid, Met. i. 76.

A creature of more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was Man design'd:
Conscious of thought, of more capacious breast,
For empire form'd, and fit to rule the rest.—
—Thus while the mute creation downward bend
Their sight, and to their earthly mother tend,

Man looks aloft, and with erected eyes
Beholds his own hereditary skies. *Dryden.*

506. —*a creature who not prone*
And brute as other creatures, but indued
With sanctity of reason,] Dr. Bentley finds great fault here, and alters the verses thus,

—a creature who not prone
To earth, nor mute, nor bestial, but indued
With sanctity, *speech,* reason.

I agree with him that Milton had Ovid in view, when he composed these verses. Let us see then what are the Doctor's objections against them. *Prone,* says he, barely put, does not express what Milton aimed at from Ovid, *viz.*

Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram.

It is true that Ovid says more than *prone*: but Milton, who was perfectly skilled in the force of Latin words, knew that *pronus* in Latin sufficiently expressed what Ovid through a redundancy of stile has expressed by two more words *spectant terram.*

519. *Let us make now Man in our image,* &c.] 1 Gen. i. 26, 27, 28. The author keeps close to Scripture in his account of the formation of Man as well as of the other creatures.

548. *Here finish'd he, and all that he had made*
View'd,] The pause is very remarkable, and admirably expresses the Creator surveying and contemplating his work,

—and behold all was entirely good;
So ev'n and morn accomplish'd the sixth day:

He finishes the account of the creation in the same manner as Moses, Gen. i. 31.

551. *Yet not till the Creator* &c.] The poet represents the Messiah returning into Heaven, and taking a survey of his great work. There is something inexpressibly sublime in this part of the poem, where the author describes that great period of time, filled with so many glorious circumstances; when the Heavens and Earth were finished; when the Messiah ascended up in triumph through the everlasting gates; when he looked down with pleasure upon his new creation; when every part of nature seemed to rejoice in its existence.

565. *Open, ye everlasting gates,* &c.] Psal. xxiv. 7. "Lift

up your heads, O ye gates, and be lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the king of glory shall come in." This hymn was sung when the ark of God was carried up into the sanctuary on mount Sion, and is understood as a prophecy of our Saviour's ascension into Heaven; and therefore is fitly applied by our author to the same divine Person's ascending thither after he had created the world.

619. *On the clear hyaline,*] This word is expressed from the Greek, and is immediately translated *the glassy sea.* For Milton, when he uses Greek words, sometimes gives the English with them, as in speaking of the rivers in Hell, ii. 577, *&c.* and so *the galaxy,* he immediately translates, *that milky way.*

624. *Earth with her nether ocean*] To distinguish it from the crystalline ocean, the waters above the firmament.

631. —*thrice happy if they know*
Their happiness,] Virg. Georg. ii. 458.
O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint.

BOOK VIII.

1. *The Angel ended*, &c.] IN the first edition of this poem in ten books here was only this line,

To whom *thus* Adam *gratefully reply'd*.

This would have been too abrupt a beginning for a new book; and therefore in the second edition of the poem in twelve books, when the seventh book was divided into two, the author changed this line, and changed it very much for the better, into the four first lines as they stand at present, only preserving part of this verse in the last of the four.

Then as new wak'd *thus gratefully reply'd*.

2. *So charming left his voice*, &c] Imitated probably from Appollonius, i. 512, who elegantly describes the effect which the harp and voice of Orpheus had upon the Argonauts. When Orpheus had ended his song, they, intent and bending towards him, still listened and imagined him still speaking.

3.——*still stood fix'd to hear*;] *Stood* from *Stava* (Italian) remained, continued; not that Adam was in a standing posture, probably he sat as at dinner, v. 433. 'Tis not his attitude which is here described, but his great attention. *Richardson.*

5. *What thanks sufficient*, &c.] The accounts which Raphael gives of the battle of Angels, and the creation of the world, have in them those qualifications, which the critics judge requisite to an episode. They are nearly related to the principal action, and have a just connection with the fable. The eighth book opens with a beautiful description of the impression which this discourse of the Arch-Angel made on our first parents. Adam afterwards, by a very natural curio-

sity, inquires concerning the motions of those celestial bodies which make the most glorious appearance among the six days works. The poet here, with a great deal of art represents Eve as withdrawing from this part of their conversation to amusements more suitable to her sex. He well knew, that the episode in this book, which is filled with Adam's account of his passion and esteem for Eve, would have been improper for her hearing, and has therefore devised very just and beautiful reasons for her retiring. *Addison.*

15. *When I beheld this goodly frame, this world* &c.] Milton after having given so noble an idea of the creation of this new world takes a most proper occasion to show the two great systems, usually called the Ptolemaic and the Copernican, one making the earth, the other the sun to be the center; and this he does by introducing Adam proposing very judiciously the difficulties that occur in the first, and which was the system most obvious to him. The reply of the Angel touches on the expedients the Ptolemaics invented to solve those difficulties, and to patch up their system; and then intimates that perhaps the sun is the center, and so opens that system, and withal the noble improvements of the new philosophy; not however determining for one or the other: on the contrary he exhorts our progenitor to apply his thoughts rather to what more nearly concerns him, and is within his reach. *Richardson.*

19. *And all her number'd stars,*] Numbered by whom? By the Lord their Creator, and by him alone, Psal. cxlvii. 4.

23. ——*this punctual spot,*] He had called this earth a *spot* in ver. 17; he calls it here *this punctual spot*, a spot no bigger than a point, compared with the firmament and fixed stars.

28. *So many nobler bodies to create,*
Greater so manifold] As if he had said, "So many nobler, so many greater;" but he turns the words, "So many nobler, greater so *many*," manifold for the sake of the verse.

37. *Of incorporeal speed,*] Not that it was truly so, it signifies only very great speed, such as Spirits might use. "Speed almost spiritual," as he expresses it a little afterwards, ver. 110.

40. ——*which Eve*

Perceiving, &c.] What a lovely picture has the poet here drawn of Eve! As it did not become her to bear a part in the conversation, she modestly sits at a distance, but yet within view. She stays as long as the Angel and her husband are discoursing of things, which it might concern her and her duty to know: but when they enter upon abstruser points, then she decently retires.

59. *With Goddess-like demeanour forth she went,*
Not unattended,] In the turn of expression in these two lines Milton seems to allude to Homer's description of Helen. Iliad. iii. 142.

66. *To ask or search* &c.] The Angel's returning a doubtful answer to Adam's inquiries, was not only proper for the moral reason which the poet assigns, but because it would have been highly absurd to have given the sanction of an Arch-Angel to any particular system of philosophy. The chief points in the Ptolemaic and Copernican hypotheses are described with great conciseness and perspicuity, and at the same time dressed in very pleasing and poetical images.

Addison.

80. *And calculate the stars,*] The sense is, And form a judgment of the stars by computing their motions, distance, situation, &c. as to *calculate* a nativity signifies to form a judgment of the events attending it, by computing what planets, in what motions, presided over that nativity.

83. *With centric and eccentric*] *Centric* or concentric are such spheres whose center is the same with, and *eccentric* such whose centers are different from that of the earth. *Cycle* is a circle: *Epicycle* is a circle upon another circle. Expedients of the Ptolemaics to solve the apparent difficulties in their system.

102.—*and his line stretch'd out so far*;] As in Job xxxviii. 5.

128. *In six thou seest*, &c.] In the *moon* and the "five other wandering fires," as they are called v. 177. Their motions are evident; and what if the earth should be a seventh planet, and move three different motions though to thee insensible? The "three different motions," which the Copernicans attribute to the earth are the *diurnal* round her own axis, the *annual* round the sun, and the "motion of libration" as it is called, whereby the earth so proceeds in her

orbit, as that her axis is constantly parallel to the axis of the world. "Which else to several spheres thou must ascribe," &c. You must either ascribe these motions to several spheres crossing and thwarting one another with crooked and indirect turnings and windings; or you must attribute them to the earth, and "save the sun his labour" and the primum mobile too, "that swift nocturnal and diurnal rhomb." It was observed in the note on vii. 619, that when Milton uses a Greek word, he frequently subjoins the English of it, as he does here, "the wheel of day and night." So he calls the primum mobile: and this primum mobile, in the ancient astronomy, was an imaginary sphere above those of the planets and fixed stars; and therefore said by our author to be *suppos'd* and "invisible above all stars." This was conceived to be the first mover, and to carry all the lower spheres round along with it; by its rapidity communicating to them a motion whereby they revolved in twenty-four hours. "Which needs not thy belief, if earth," &c. But there is no need to believe this, if the earth, by revolving round on her own axis from west to east in twenty-four hours (*travelling east*) enjoys day in that half of her globe which is turned towards the sun, and is covered with night in the other half which is turned away from the sun.

159. *But whether thus these things or whether not*, &c.] The Angel is now recapitulating the whole. He had argued upon the supposition of the truth of the Ptolemaic system to ver. 122. Then he proposes the Copernican system, and argues upon that supposition. Now he sums up the whole, "But whether thus these things, or whether not," whether the one system or the other be true, whether Heaven move or Earth, solicit not thyself about these matters, fear God and do thy duty.

162.——*his flaming road*] Elegantly applying to the road what belongs to the sun. So i. 786, he says the moon "wheels her pale course." *Richardson.*

164.——*that spinning sleeps*
On her soft axle,] Metaphors taken from a top, of which Virgil makes a whole simile, Æn. vii. 378. It is an objection to the Copernican system, that if the earth moved round on her axle in twenty-four-hours, we should be sensible of the

rapidity and violence of the motion; and therefore to obviate this objection it is not only said that "she advances her silent course with inoffensive pace that spinning sleeps on her soft axle," but it is farther added to explain it still more, "while she paces even, and bears thee soft with the smooth air along:" for the air, the atmosphere, moves as well as the earth.

194. *Is the prime wisdom; what is more is fume,* &c.] An excellent piece of satire this, and a fine reproof of those men who have all sense but common sense, and whose folly is truly represented in the story of the philosopher, who, while he was gazing at the stars, fell into the ditch. Our author in these lines, as Mr. Thyer imagines, might probably have in his eye the character of Socrates, who first attempted to divert his countrymen from their aery and chimerical notions about the origin of things, and turn their attention to that *prime wisdom*, the consideration of moral duties, and their conduct in social life.

204.—*now hear me relate*
My story,] Adam, to detain the Angel, enters upon his own history, and relates to him the circumstances in which he found himself upon his creation; as also his conversation with his Maker, and his first meeting with Eve. There is no part of the poem more apt to raise the attention of the reader, than this discourse of our great ancestor; as nothing can be more surprising and delightful to us, than to hear the sentiments that arose in the first man while he was yet new and fresh from the hands of his Creator. The poet has interwoven every thing which is delivered upon this subject in holy Writ with so many beautiful imaginations of his own, that nothing can be conceived more just and natural than this episode.

211. *And sweeter thy discourse is to my hear,* &c] The poet had here probably in mind that passage in Virgil, Ecl. v. 45.

O heav'nly poet! such thy verse appears,
So sweet, so charming to my ravish'd ears,
As to the weary swain, with cares opprest,
Beneath the sylvan shade, refreshing rest;
As to the feverish traveller, when first
He finds a crystal stream to quench his thirst. *Dryden.*

But the fine turn in the three last lines of Milton is entirely his own, and gives an exquisite beauty to this passage above Virgil's. See An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients, p. 37.

212.——*fruits of palm tree*] The *palm-tree* bears a fruit called a date, full of sweet juice, a great restorative to dry and exhausted bodies by augmenting the radical moisture.

218. *Nor are thy lips ungraceful,*] Alluding to Psal. xlv. 3. "Full of grace are thy lips."

229. *For I that day was absent,*] The sixth day of creation. Of all the rest, of which he has given an account, he might have been an eye-witness, and speak from his own knowledge: what he has said of this day's work, of Adam's original, to be sure, he must have had by hearsay or inspiration. Milton had very good reason to make the Angel absent now, not only to vary his speaker, but because Adam could best, or only, tell some particulars not to be omitted.

233. *To see that none thence issued forth,* &.] As Man was to be the principal work of God in this lower world, and (according to Milton's hypothesis) a creature to supply the loss of the fallen Angels, so particular care is taken at his creation. The Angels on that day keep watch and guard at the gates of Hell, that none may issue forth to interrupt the sacred work. At the same time that this was a very good reason for the Angel's absence, it is likewise doing honour to the Man with whom he was conversing.

240.——*Fast we found, fast shut* &c.] There is no question but our poet drew the image in what follows from that in Virgil's sixth book, where Æneas and the Sibyl stand before the adamantine gates, which are there described as shut upon the place of torments, and listen to the groans, the clank of chains, and the noise of iron whips that were heard in those regions of pain and sorrow. *Addison.*

The reader will not be displeased to see the passage, Æn. vi. 557.

From hence are heard the groans of ghosts, the pains
Of sounding lashes and of dragging chains:
The Trojan stood astonish'd at their cries. *Dryden.*

253.—*As new wak'd from soundest sleep* &c.] Adam then proceeds to give an account of his condition and sentiments

immediately after his creation. How agreeably does he represent the posture in which he found himself, the beautiful landskip that surrounded him, and the gladness of heart which grew up in him on that occasion? Adam is afterwards described as surprised at his own existence, and taking a survey of himself, and of all the works of nature. He likewise is represented as discovering by the light of reason, that he and every thing about him must have been the effect of some being infinitely good and powerful, and that this being had a right to his worship and adoration. His first address to the sun and to those parts of the creation which made the most distinguished figure, is very natural and amusing to the imagination. His next sentiment, when upon his first going to sleep he fancies himself losing his existence, and falling away into nothing, can never be sufficiently admired. His dream in which he still preserves the consciousness of his existence, together with his removal into the garden which was prepared for his reception, are also circumstances finely imagined, and grounded upon what is delivered in sacred story. These and the like wonderful incidents in this part of the work have in them all the beauties of novelty, at the same time that they have all the graces of nature. They are such as none but a great genius could have thought of, though, upon the perusal of them, they seem to rise of themselves from the subject of which he treats. In a word, though they are natural, they are not obvious, which is the true character of all fine writing. *Addison.*

269.——*as lively vigour led:*] We have printed it after the first edition, though the second represents it thus,

——— and sometime ran
With supple joints, *and* lively vigour led.

This reading is followed likewise in some other editions, but we conceive it to be plainly an error of the press.

272.——— *and readily could name*
Whate'er I saw.] There is a contradiction between this and ver. 352, &c. In the first passage Adam says that he could name whatever he saw, before he got into Paradise. In the second he says, that God gave him that ability when the beast came to him in Paradise. For this last passage alludes to the rabinical opinion, that he gave names according to their na-

tures (clearer expressed, ver. 438, &c.) and the knowledge of their natures he says God then suddenly indued him with.

300. *So saying by the hand he took me rais'd,*] Imitated from Gen. ii. 15 Some commentators say, that man was not formed in Paradise, but was placed there after he was formed, to shew that he had no title to it by nature but by grace: and our author poetically supposes that he was carried thither sleeping, and was first made to see that happy place in vision. Our poet had perhaps in mind that passage of Virgil, where Venus lays young Ascanius asleep, and removes him from Carthage to the Idalian groves, Æn. i. 691.

314.——*Rejoicing but with awe,*] There should most certainly be a comma after the word *awe*, although there be no printed authorities to justify it. It gives a greater strength to the sense, as it confines the *awe* to the *rejoicing*, and thereby expresses that mixture of joy and reverence, which the Scriptures so often recommend to us in our approaches to the divine Being.

323. *But of the tree,* &c.] This being the great hinge on which the whole poem turns, Milton has marked it strongly. "But of the tree—Remember what I warn thee."—he dwells, expatiates upon it from ver. 323 to 336, repeating, enforcing, fixing every word; it is all nerve and energy. *Richardson.*

330.—*inevitably thou shalt die,*] According to Gen. ii. 17. that is *from that day* thou shalt become *mortal*, as our poet immediately afterwards explains it.

335. *Yet dreadful in mine ear,*] The impression, which the interdiction of the tree of life left in the mind of our first parent is described with great strength and judgment; as the image of the several beasts and birds passing in review before him is very beautiful and lively. *Addison.*

353.—*with such knowledge God indued* &c.] Wonderful was the knowledge of God bestowed on Adam, nor that part of it least, which concerned the naming things aright; as Cicero agrees with Pythagoras; "Qui primus, quod summæ sapientiæ Pythagoræ visum est, omnibus rebus nomina imposuit." Tusc. Disp. lib. i. sect. 25. *Hume.*

357. *O by what name,* &c.] Adam in the next place de-

357. *O by what name*, &c.] Adam in the next place describes a conference which he held with his Maker upon the subject of solitude. The poet here represents the Supreme Being, as making an essay of his own work, and putting to the trial that reasoning faculty, with which he had indued his creature. Adam urges in this divine colloquy the impossibility of his being happy, though he was the inhabitant of Paradise, and lord of the whole creation, without the conversation and society of some rational creature, who should partake those blessings with him. This dialogue, which is supported chiefly by the beauty of the thoughts, without other poetical ornaments, is as fine a part as any in the whole poem.

372. ——— ——— *know'st thou not*
Their language and their ways?] That brutes have a kind of language among themselves is evident and undeniable. There is a Treatise in French of the language of brutes: and our Author supposes that Adam understood this language, and was of knowledge superior to any of his descendents, and besides was assisted by inspiration, "with such knowledge God indued his sudden apprehension."

440. ——*Expressing well the spi'rit within thee free,*
My image,] Milton is upon all occasions a strenuous advocate for the freedom of the human mind against the narrow and rigid notions of the Calvinists of that age, and here in the same spirit supposes the very image of God in which man was made to consist in this liberty.

444. ——*I, ere thou spak's't,*
Knew it not good for Man to be alone,] As in Gen. ii. 18. 19. and 20. God brings the beasts and birds before Adam, and Adam gives them names, "but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him;" as if Adam had now discovered it himself likewise: and from this little hint our author has raised this dialogue between Adam and his Maker. And then follows both in Moses and in Milton the account of the formation of Eve and institution of marriage.

460. *Mine eyes he clos'd*, &c.] Adam proceeds to give an account of his second sleep, and of the dream in which he beheld the formation of Eve. The new passion that was awakened in him at the sight of her is touched very finely. Adam's dis-

tress upon losing sight of this beautiful phantom, with his exclamations of joy and gratitude at the discovery of a real creature, who resembled the apparition which had been presented to him in his dream; the approaches he makes to her, and his manner of courtship, are all laid together in a most exquisite propriety of sentiments. Tho' this part of the poem is worked up with great warmth and spirit, the love which is described in it is every way suitable to a state of innocence. If the reader compares the description which Adam here gives of his leading Eve to the nuptial bower, with that which Mr. Dryden has made on the same occasion in a scene of his "Fall of Man," he will be sensible of the great care which Milton took to avoid all thoughts on so delicate a subject, that might be offensive to religion or good manners. The sentiments are chaste, but not cold; and convey to the mind ideas of the most transporting passion, and of the greatest purity. *Addison.*

465.——*open'd my left side, and took*
From thence a rib,—wide was the wound,
But suddenly with flesh fill'd up and heal'd:] As in Gen. ii. 21. The Scripture says only "one of his ribs," but Milton follows those interpreters who suppose this rib was taken from the left side, as being nearer to the heart.

471.——*so lovely fair,*
That what seem'd fair in all the world, seem'd now
Mean,] The position of the words with the pause in the first syllable of the verse upon the adjective "mean," has a wonderful effect, and gives great force to the sentence. No collocation of words can exceed this in beauty. I remember an adjective placed much in the same manner in Virgil, Georg. i. 476.

Vox quoque per lucos vulgò ex audita silentes
Ingens—

The placing of the word *ingens* is admirable, and makes one almost hear the loud dismal voice groaning thro' the groves.

485. *Led by her heav'nly Maker,*] According to Gen. ii. 22. And our author still alluding to this text says afterwards, ver. 500, that she was "divinely brought."

498.——*and to his wife adhere;*] "Adhærebit uxori suæ," as it is in the vulgar Latin: "shall cleave unto his wife," says the English Bible, as in Gen. ii. 23, 24. How has Milton im-

proved upon the last words, "and they shall be one flesh," and what an admirable climax has he formed!

And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul.

And by the way we may observe, that there may be great force and beauty in a verse, that consists all of monosyllables. It is true indeed that

—ten low words oft creep in one dull line:

but there are several monosyllable verses in Milton as strong and sublime, as beautifull and harmonious as can possibly be written. No number of syllables can equal the force of these monosyllables, ii. 621, and 950.

Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death.

And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.

And abundance of other instances might easily be cited. And certainly monosyllables used properly add much to the strength and conciseness of our language.

509. *And with obsequious majesty approv'd*] How exactly does our author preserve the same character of Eve in all places where he speaks of her! This *obsequious majesty* is the very same with the *coy submission, modest pride*, in the fourth book.

513.——*the earth*

Gave sign of gratulation, &c.] This is a copy from Homer, Iliad. xiv. 347, where the creation is made to give the like tokens of joy at the amorous congress of Jupiter and Juno on mount Ida.

Glad earth perceives, and from her bosom pours
Unbidden herbs, and voluntary flow'rs———
There golden clouds conceal the heav'nly pair,
Steep'd in soft joys, and circumfus'd with air;
Celestial dews, descending o'er the ground,
Perfume the mount, and breathe ambrosia round. *Pope.*

But Milton has greatly improved this, as he improves every thing, in the imitation.

519.——*and bid haste the ev'ning star.*

On his hill top to light the bridal lamp.] The *evening star* is said to light *the bridal lamp*, as it was the signal among the Ancients to light their lamps and torches in order to conduct the bride home to the bridegroom.

Vesper adest, juvenes consurgite &c. *Catul.*

"On his hill top," says our author, writing in the language as

well as in the spirit of the Ancients; for when this star appear'd eastward in the morning, it was said to rise on mount Ida.

Jamque jugis summæ surgebat Lucifer Idæ,
Ducebatque diem. Virg. Æn. ii. 801.

when it appeared westward in the evening, it was said to be seen on mount Oeta. Virg. Ecl. viii. 30.

Sparge marite nuces, tibi desirit Hesperus Oetam.

528.——————————*but here.*

Far otherwise, &c.] What a noble mixture of rapture and innocence has the author joined together, in the reflections which Adam makes on the pleasures of love compared to those of sense! *Addison.*

537.——*at least on her bestow'd*
Too much of ornament, in outward show
Elaborate, of inward less exact.] The poet has enlarged upon the same sentiment in his Samson Agonistes.

Is it for that such outward ornament
Was lavish'd on their sex, that inward gifts
Were left for haste unfinish'd, judgment scant,
Capacity not rais'd to apprehend,
Or value what is best
In choice, but oftest to effect the wrong?

547.——*so absolute*] So finish'd, so perfect, so *complete*, as it is said in the next line, and as the word is explained in the note upon ver. 421. And so *absolv'd* is used vii. 94.

560. *To whom the Angel with contracted brow.*] These sentiments of love in our first parent gave the Angel such an insight into human nature, that he seems apprehensive of the evils which might befall the species in general, as well as Adam in particular, from the excess of this passion. He therefore fortifies him against it by timely admonitions; which very artfully prepare the mind of the reader for the occurrences of the next book, where the weakness of which Adam here gives such distant discoveries, brings about that fatal event which is the subject of the poem. *Addison.*

568.——————————*and worthy well*
Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love,] He maketh use of these three words agreeable to Scripture. Eph. v. 28, 29. and 1 Pet. iii. 7.

576. *Made so adorn* &c.] These verses contain a beautiful

and instructive account of the end for which God bestowed on Eve so much of ornament and awfulness.

591.———*and is judicious,*] To be *judicious*, means here to choose proper qualities in Eve for the object of love; to love her only for what is truly amiable: "not for the sense of touch whereby mankind is propagated, ver. 579, &c; but for what Adam found "higher in her society, human, and rational."

595. *To whom thus half abash'd Adam reply'd.*] Adam's discourse, which follows the gentle rebuke he received from the Angel, shows that his love, however violent it might appear, was still founded in reason, and consequently not improper for Paradise. *Addison.*

"To whom thus half abash'd Adam reply'd."

This verse might have been turned otherwise,

"To whom thus Adam half abash'd reply'd,"

and many perhaps will think that it runs smoother thus. But let the reader consider again, whether the verse as it is in Milton does not better express the shame and modest confusion of Adam.

630. *But I can now no more; the parting sun* &c.] The conversation was now become of such a nature that it was proper to put an end to it: And now the "parting sun beyond the earth's green Cape," beyond Cape de Verd, the most western point of Africa, "and verdant Isles, the islands of Cape de Verd, a knot of small islands laying off Cape de Verd, subject to the Portuguese, "Hesperian sets," sets westward from Hesperus the evening star appearing there, "my signal to depart," for he was only to stay till the evening, v. 376.

—for these mid hours, till evening rise,
I have at will.

And he very properly closes his discourse with those moral instructions, which should make the most lasting impression on the mind of Adam, and to deliver which was the principal end and design of the Angel's coming.

644.—*whom Adam thus*] Adam's speech at parting with the Angel has in it a difference and gratitude agreeable to an inferior nature, and at the same time a certain dignity and greatness suitable to the father of mankind in his state of innocence. *Addison.*

645. *Followed with benediction. Since to part,*] What's here, says Dr. Bentley? Adam give benediction, his blessing to an Arch-Angel, when "the less is blessed of the better? But *benediction* does not signify blessing here in the sense which the Doctor gives to the word. *Benedicere Domino, to bless God,* is a common phrase in religious offices. So Psal. cix. 17. In this sense therefore it is not improper to be used towards superiors. But what stile is that (says the Doctor) "Since to part?" It means, Since we are to part. If the expression is abbreviated, so was the time of Raphael's stay with Adam. He was just upon the point of going, and therefore Adam might choose brevity of speech, that he might express all he had to say before the Arch-Angel withdrew himself.

652. *So parted they, the Angel up to Heaven*
From the thick shade, and Adam to his bower.] It is very true, as Dr. Bentley says, that this conversation between Adam and the Angel was held in "the bower." For thither Adam had invited him. v. 367.

Vouchsafe with us—in yonder *bower*
To rest.

And the Angel had accepted the invitation, ver. 375.

—lead on then where "thy bower" o'ershades——
—So to the sylvan lodge
They came.

But by *bower* in this place is meant his *inmost bower,* as it is called in iv. 738, his place of rest. There was a shady walk that led to Adam's bower. When the Angel *arose,* ver. 644, Adam *follow'd him* into this shady walk: and it was from this *thick shade* that they parted, and the Angel went up to Heaven, and Adam to his bower.

BOOK IX.

1. *No more of talk* &c.] THESE prefaces of Milton to some of his books, speaking of his own person, lamenting his blindness, and preferring his subject to those of Homer and Virgil and the greatest poets before him, are condemned by some critics: and it must be allowed that we find no such digression in the Iliad or Æneid; it is a liberty that can be taken only by such a genius as Milton, and I question whether it would have succeeded in any hands but his. As Monsieur Voltaire says upon the occasion, I cannot but own that an author is generally guilty of an unpardonable self-love, when he lays aside his subject to descant upon his own person: but that human frailty is to be forgiven in Milton; nay I am pleased with it. He gratifies the curiosity he has raised in me about his person; when I admire the author, I desire to know something of the man; and he, whom all readers would be glad to know, is allowed to speak of himself. But this however is a very dangerous example for a genius of an inferior order, and is only to be justified by success. See Voltaire's Essay on Epic Poetry, pag. 111. But as Mr. Thyer adds, however some critics and Monsieur Voltaire may condemn a poet's sometimes digressing from his subject to speak of himself, it is very certain that Milton was of a very different opinion long before he thought of writing this poem. For in his discourse of the Reason of Church-Government, &c. apologizing for saying so much of himself as he there does, he adds, "For although a poet, soaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might, without apology, speak more of himself than I mean to do;" "yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself, I shall petition

to the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me." Vol. i. p. 59. Edit. 1. 38.

5.——————*I must now change*

Those notes to tragic;] As the author is now changing his subject, he professes likewise to change his stile agreeably to it. The reader therefore must not expect such lofty images and descriptions, as before. What follows is more of the *tragic* strain than of the epic. Which may serve as an answer to those critics, who censure the latter books of the Paradise Lost as falling below the former.

12.——————————*and Misery*

Death's harbinger:] Dr. Bentley reads *Malady*; because, as there is *Misery* after death, so there is *Misery*, which does not usher in death, but invoke it in vain But by *Misery* here, Milton means sickness, disease, and all sorts of mortal pains. So when in xi. Michael is going to name the several diseases in the lazar-house, represented to Adam in a vision, he says ver. 475,

——that thou may'st know
What *misery* th' inabstinence of Eve
Shall bring on men. *Pearce.*

13.——*Sad task, yet argument*
Not less, but more heroic than the wrath
Of Stern Achilles, &c.[The anger that he is about to sing is more heroic, not only than that of men, of Achilles, Turnus, &c. but even than the anger of the Gods, of Neptune and Juno; in as much as the anger of the true God is a subject more noble than the anger of the false Gods.

21.—*my celestial patroness*,] His "heav'nly Muse," his "Urania," whom he had invoked i. 6. vii. 1, 31. And he boasts of her "nightly visitation," as he was not unaccustomed to study and compose his verses by night; as he intimates himself at the beginning of book the third.

——————but chief
Thee, Sion, and the flow'ry brooks beneath.
That wash thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,
"Nightly I visit."

And it is probable that in both these passages he alludes to the beginning of Hesiod's Theogony, where he mentions likewise the Muses "walking by night."

26.—*long choosing, and beginning late*;] Our author intended pretty early to write an epic poem, and proposed the story of king Arthur for the subject of it: but that was laid aside probably for the reason here intimated. The Paradise Lost he designed first as a tragedy: it was not till long after that he began to form it into an epic poem: and indeed for several years he was so hotly engaged in the controversies of the times, that he was not at leisure to think of a work of this nature, and did not begin to fashion it in its present form till after the Salmasian controversy which ended in 1655, and probably did not set about the work in earnest till after the Restoration, so that he was "long choosing, and beginning late."

28.——*hitherto the only argument*
Heroic deem'd,] By the Moderns as well as by the Ancients; wars being the principal subject of all the heroic poems from Homer down to this time.

29.—*chief mast'ry to dissect* &c.] As the admired subjects for an heroic poem were mistaken, so those were wrong who thought the dissecting of *knights* was a principal part of the skill of a poet, describing wounds as a surgeon. He doubtless here glanced at Homer's perpetual affectation of this sort of knowledge, which certainly debases his poetry.

33.——*or to describe races and games*,] As the ancient poets have done; Homer in the twenty third book of the Iliad, Virgil in the fifth book of the Æneid, and Statius in the sixth book of his Thebaid: Or *tilts* and *torneaments*, which are often the subject of the modern poets, as Ariosto, Spenser, and the like.

53. *When Satan who late fled* &c.] If we look into the three great heroic poems which have appeared in the world, we may observe that they are built upon very slight foundations. Homer lived 300 years after the Trojan war; and, as the writing of history was not then in use among the Greeks, we may very well suppose that the tradition of Achilles and Ulysses had brought down but very few particulars to his knowledge; tho' there is no question but he has wrought into his two poems such of their remarkable adventures, as were still talked of among his contemporaries. The story of Æneas, on which Virgil founded his poem, was likewise very bare of circumstances, and by that means afforded him an opportunity of embellishing

it with fiction, and giving a full range to his invention. We find however that he has interwoven in the course of his fable the principal particulars which were generally believed among the Romans of Æneas's voyage and settlement in Italy. The history, which was the basis of Milton's poem, is still shorter than either that of the Iliad or Æneid. The poet has likewise taken care to insert every circumstance of it in the body of his fable. The ninth book, which we are here to consider, is raised upon that brief account in Scripture, wherein we are told that the Serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field, that he tempted the woman to eat of the forbidden fruit, that she was overcome by this temptation, and that Adam followed her example. From these few particulars, Milton has formed one of the most entertaining fables that invention ever produced. He has disposed of these several circumstances among so many beautiful and natural fictions of his own, that his whole story looks only like a comment upon sacred Writ, or rather seems to be a full and complete relation of what the other is only an epitome. I have insisted the longer on this consideration, as I look upon the disposition and contrivance of the fable to be the principal beauty of the ninth book, which has more *story* in it, and is fuller of incidents, than any other in the whole poem. Satan's traversing the globe, and still keeping within the shadow of the night, as fearing to be discovered by the Angel of the sun, who had before detected him, is one of those beautiful imaginations, with which he introduces this his second series of adventures. Having examined the nature of every creature, and found out one which was the most proper for his purpose, he again returns to Paradise; and to avoid discovery, sinks by night with a river that ran under the garden, and rises up again through a fountain that issued from it by the tree of life. The poet, who, as we have before taken notice, speaks as little as possible in his own person, and after the example of Homer fills every part of his work with manners and characters, introduces a soliloquy of this infernal agent, who was thus restless in the destruction of Man. He is then described as gliding through the garden, under the resemblance of a mist, in order to find out that creature in which he designed to tempt our first parents. This description has something in it very poetical and surprising. *Addison.*

64. *With darkness*, &c.] It was about noon that Satan came to the earth, and having been discovered by Uriel, he was driven out of Paradise the same night, as we read in book the fourth. From that time he was a whole week in continual darkness for fear of another discovery.

77. *From Eden over Pontus*, &c.] As we had before an astronomical, so here we have a geographical, account of Satan's peregrinations. "He search'd" both "sea and land," northward "from Eden over Pontus," Pontus Euxinus, the Euxine Sea, now the Black Sea, above Constantinople, "and the pool Mæotis," Palus Mæotis above the Black Sea, "up beyond the river Ob," Ob or Obey, a great river of Muscovy near the northern pole.

86. *The serpent subtlest beast of all the field.*] So Moses Gen. iii. 1. The subtlety of the serpent is commended likewise by Aristotle and other Naturalists: And therefore he was the fitter instrument for Satan, because (as Milton says, agreeably with the doctrine of the best Divines) any sleights in him might be thought to proceed from his native wit and subtlety, but observed in other creatures might the easier beget a suspicion of a diabolical power acting within them beyond their natural sense.

89.——*fittest imp of fraud*,] Fittest stock to graft his devillsh fraud upon. *Imp* of the Saxon *impan*, to put into, to graft upon. Thus children are called *little imps*, from their imitating all they see and hear. *Hume*.

113. *Of growth, sense, reason, all summ'd up in Man.*] The three kinds of life rising as it were by steps, the vegetable, animal, and rational; of all which man partakes, and he only; he grows as plants, minerals, and all things inanimate; he lives as all other animated creatures, but is over and above endued with reason.

119. *Find place or refuge*;] Dr. Bentley believes that the author gave it "Find place *of* refuge:" Another learned gentleman proposes to read "Find *peace* or refuge: but it may be understood thus, "but I in none of these find place *to dwell in* or refuge from divine vengeance." And this sense seems to be confirmed by what follows.

But neither here seek I, no nor in Heaven
To dwell,——

Nor hope to be myself less miserable,

that is (as Dr. Greenwood adds) I find no place "to dwell here," for I do not *seek* or desire it; and I expect no *refuge*, because I cannot "hope to be less miserable.

156. *And flaming ministers*] As in Psal. civ. 4.

164.—*am now constrain'd* &c.] The construction is, am now forced into a beast, and to incarnate, &c. The verb *constrained* governs both the members; and there are innumerable instances (as Mr. Richardson observes) in Milton, Horace, and the best Latin and Greek poets, of the same verb governing in one member of the period a noun, &c. and in the other a verb, &c.

166. *This essence to incarnate and to imbrute,*] So also in his Mask.

The soul grows clotted by contagion,

"Imbodies and imbrutes." *Thyer.*

173 *Let it*;] Let revenge recoil on itself, "I reck not," I value not, "so it light well aim'd, since higher I fall short, on him who next provokes my envy," so it light on Man, since I cannot accomplish my revenge on God. A truly diabolical sentiment this. So he can but be any ways revenged, he does not value tho' his revenge recoil on himself.

192. *Now when as sacred light* &c.] The author gives us a description of the morning, which is wonderfully suitable to a divine poem, and peculiar to that first season of nature: He represents the earth, before it was curst, as a great altar, breathing out its incense from all parts, and sending up a pleasant savour to the nostrils of its Creator; to which he adds a noble idea of Adam and Eve, as offering their morning worship, and filling up the universal consort of praise and adoration. *Addison.* This is the morning of the ninth day, as far as we can reckon the time in this poem, a great part of the action lying out of the sphere of day. The first day we reckon that wherein Satan came to the earth; the space of seven days after that he was coasting round the earth; he comes into Paradise again by night, and this is the beginning of the ninth day, and the last of Man's innocence and happiness.

197. *With grateful smell,*] This is in the stile of the eastern poetry. So it is said in Gen. viii. 21.

199———————*that done,*] Our author always sup-

poses Adam and Eve to employ their first and their last hours in devotion. The greatest geniuses in all ages, from Homer to Milton, appear plainly by their writings to have been men of piety and religion.

226. *To whom mild answer Adam thus return'd.*] The dispute which follows between our two first parents is represented with great art; it proceeds from a difference of judgment, not of passion, and is managed with reason, not with heat: It is such a dispute as we may suppose might have happened in Paradise, had Man continued happy and innocent. There is a great delicacy in the moralities which are interspersed in Adam's discourse, and which the most ordinary reader cannot but take notice of. That force of love, which the father of mankind so finely describes in the eighth book, shews itself here in many fine instances: as in those fond regards he cast towards Eve at her parting from him, ver. 397.

Her long with ardent look his eye pursued
Delighted, *&c.*

in his impatience and amusement during her absence, ver. 838.

—Adam the while,
Waiting desirous her return, had wove
Of choicest flow'rs a garland *&c.*

but particularly in that passionate speech, where seeing her irrecoverably lost he resolves to perish with her rather than to live without her, ver. 904.

——————————some cursed fraud
Of enemy hath beguil'd thee *&c.*

The beginning of this speech, and the preparation to it, are animated with the same spirit as the conclusion which I have here quoted. *Addison.*

249.———*is best society,*] As Scipio said, Never less alone than when alone.

250. *And short retirement urges sweet return.*] Retirement, though but short, makes the return sweet: the word *urges* is to be referred to *retirement* only, and not to the epithet, which Adam seems to annex to it, only because he could not bear to think of a *long* one.

270—*the virgin majesty of Eve,*] The ancients used the word *virgin* with more latitude than we, as Virgil Eclog. vi. 47, calls Pasiphae virgin after she had had three children, and

Ovid calls Medea adultera virgo. Ovid. Epist. Hypsip. Jas. 133. It is put here to denote beauty, bloom, sweetness, modesty, and all the amiable characters which are usually found in a virgin, and these with matron majesty; what a picture!

278. *Just then return'd at shut of evening flowers.*] What a natural notation of evening is this! and a proper time for her, who had "gone forth among her fruits and flowers," viii. 44, to *return*. But we must not conceive that Eve is speaking of the evening last past, for this was a week ago. Satan was caught tempting Eve in a dream, and fled out of Paradise that night, and with this ends book the fourth. After he had fled out of Paradise he was ranging round the world seven days; but we have not any account of Adam and Eve excepting only on the first of those days, which begins with the beginning of book the fifth, where Eve relates her dream; that day at noon the Angel Raphael comes down from Heaven; the Angel and Adam discourse together till evening, and they part at the end of book the eighth. There are six days therefore past in silence, and we hear no more of Adam and Eve, till Satan had stolen again into Paradise.

312.—*while shame, thou looking on,*] Milton often uses the nominative case absolute, as the Greeks do.

318——*domestic Adam*] This epithet seems to allude to what Adam had said in ver. 232.

—nothing lovelier can be found
In woman than to study household good,
And good works in her husband to promote.

"Domestic in his care," may signify here one who has a careful regard to the good of his family; and all this speech of Adams was intended for the security of his wife.

320. *Less attributed*] That is, too little; an elegant Latinism.

334.—*our witness from th' event.*] The Spirit bearing witness with our spirit, Rom. viii. 16.

335. *And what is faith, love, virtue unassay'd?*
Alone, without exterior help sustain'd?] What merit is there in any virtue till it has stood the test alone, and without other assistance?

339. *As not secure to single or combin'd.*] As not to be secure to us single or together.

342. *To whom thus Adam fervently reply'd.*

O Woman,] What Eve had just now said required some reprimand from Adam, and it was necessary to describe him as in some degree d'spleased; but what extreme delicacy has our author shown in choosing the word *fervently* to express it by? a term which tho' it implies some emotion, yet carries nothing in its idea inconsistent with that subserviency of the passions, which subsisted before the fall. In the two foregoing speeches he had made Adam address himself to her in the affectionate terms of "Sole Eve, associate sole," and "Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve;" but here with great judgment he changes those indearing words for those more authoritative, *O Woman.* Indeed throughout this whole conversation, which the poet has in every respect worked up to a faultless perfection, there is the most exact observance of justness and propriety of character. With what strength is the superior excellency of man's understanding here pointed out, and how nicely does our author here sketch out the defects peculiar in general to the female mind? And after all, what great art has he shown in making Adam, contrary to his better reason, grant his spouse's request, beautifully verifying what he had made our general ancestor a little before observe to the Angel? viii. 546, *&c.*

353. *But bid her well beware, and still erect,*] It is very true, as Dr. Bentley observes, that *erect* requires the preceding word to be adjective like itself: but so is *ware* or wary, and so it is used Matth. xxiv. 50. "The Lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not ware of;" and 2 Tim. iv. 15. "Of whom be thou ware also;" And therefore *be ware* should not have been printed as one word, but as two; and then there could have been no mistake.

372. *Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more;*] It is related in the Life of Milton, tha the went into the country in the Whitsuntide vacation, and married his first wife Mary the daughter of Justice Powell of Oxfordshire. She had not lived with him above a month, before she was very desirous of returning to her friends in the country, there to spend the remainder of the summer. We may suppose, that upon this occasion their conversation was somewhat of the same nature as Adam and Eve's; and it was upon some such consideration as this, that after

much solicitation he permitted her to go.

Go, for thy stay, not free, absents thee more.

385. *Thus saying, from her husband's hand her hand*
Soft she withdrew, &c.] The reader cannot but be pleased with this image. Notwithstanding this difference of judgment, while Adam is reasoning and arguing with her, he still holds her by the hand, which she gently withdraws, a little impatient to be gone, even while she is speaking. And the like a "Wood-nymph light," Oread a nymph of the mountains, or Dryad a nymph of the groves, of the oaks particularly, "or of Delia's train," the train of Diana, who is called *Delia*, as she was born in the island Delos, she "betook her to the groves;" but she surpassed not only Diana's nymphs but Diana herself.

393. *To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorn'd,*
Likest she seem'd, &c.] These four verses Dr. Bentley rejects, as the editor's manufacture. Let us examine his objections to them. For *likeliest* (says he) he meant *likest*. So he did, and so the first edition gives it. He objects further that Eve, who was before like the *Wood-Nymphs* and *Delia* is here *likest* to *Pales*, or *Pomona*, or *Ceres*; all unlike one another, and yet Eve is like them all. But he seems not to observe, that Eve is here compared to the latter three, upon a different account, than she was compared to the former. She was likened to the *Wood-Nymphs* and *Delia* in regard to her gate; but now that Milton had mentioned her being "arm'd with garden tools," he beautifully compares her to *Pales*, *Pomona*, and *Ceres*, all three Goddesses like to each other in these circumstances, that they were handsome, that they presided over gardening and cultivation of ground, and that they are usually described by the ancient poets as carrying tools of gardening or husbandry in their hands: thus Ovid in Metam. xiv, 628, says of *Pomona*.

Nec jaculo gravis est, sed aduncâ dextera falce.

395. ——————*Ceres in her prime,*
Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove.] The sense of this is so obvious, that it would be surprizing if any but such a captious pedant as Dr. Bentley would object to it.

404. *O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapless Eve,*
Of thy presum'd return!] That is, much failing of thy presumed return. These beautiful apostrophes and anticipa-

tions are frequent in the poets, who affect to speak in the character of prophets, and like men inspired with the knowledge of futurity. Thus Virgil to Turnus, Æn. x. 501.

O mortals! blind in fate, who never know
To bear high fortune, or indure the low.
The time shall come, when Turnus, but in vain,
Shall wish untouch'd the trophies of the slain;
Shall wish the fatal belt were far away,
And curse the dire remembrance of the day. *Dryden.*

427. ——————*oft stooping to support*
Each flow'r of tender stalk,——
——————*mindless the while*
Herself, though fairest unsupported flower,] We have the same manner of speaking in iv. 269.

——where Proserpine gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flow'r by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd.

A thought that must have pleased our author, since he has it a second time.

434. *Nearer he drew,* &c.] The several wiles which are put in practice by the tempter, when he found Eve separated from her husband, the many pleasing images of nature which are intermixed in this part of the story, with its gradual and regular progress to the fatal catastrophe, are so very remarkable, that it would be superfluous to point out their respective beauties. *Addison.*

438. *Imborder'd on each bank,*] Dr. Bentley believes that Milton gave it *Imbroider'd,* proper to *thick-woven.* But *imborder'd* is the right word according to Bishop Kennet, who in his glossary to his Parochial Antiquities in the word *Bordarii* says, "Some derive it from the old Gallic *bords,* the limits or extremes of any extent: as the *borders* of a county and the *borderers* or inhabitants in those parts. Whence the *bordure* of a garment, and to imborder, which we corrupt *imbroider*." See also Furetier's French Dictionary on the words *Brodeur* and *Embordurer.* *Pearce.*

439. *Spot more delicious* &c.] He is not speaking here of Paradise in general, but of this particular spot, the handiwork of Eve; and he says it was more delicious than the gardens of Adonis or Alcinous are feign'd to be. "Of reviv'd Adonis;"

for after he was killed by the wild boar, it is said that at Venus's request he was restored to life. His anniversary festival was opened with sorrow and mourning for his death, and concluded with singing and rejoicing for his revival. It is very true, as Dr. Bentley says, "the gardens of Adonis," so frequently mentioned by Greek writers, Plato, Plutarch, *&c.* were nothing but portable earthen pots with some lettice or fennel growing in them, and thrown away the next day after the yearly festival of Adonis: "whence the gardens of Adonis grew to be a proverb of contempt for any fruitless, fading, perishable affair." But, as Dr. Pearce replies, Why did the Grecians on Adonis's festival carry these small earthen gardens about in honour of him? Was it not because they had a tradition, that when he was alive he delighted in gardens, and had a magnificent one? Pliny mentions the gardens of Adonis and Alcinous together as Milton does. "There is nothing that the Ancients admired more than the gardens of the Hesperides, and those of the kings Adonis and Alcinous." "Alcinous, host to old Laertes' son," that is to Ulysses whom he entertained in his return from Troy, as Homer informs us, Odyssey book the 7th, where he gives us a charming description of his gardens; which Mr. Pope selected from other parts of Homer's works, and translated and published in the Guardian before he attempted the rest. "Or that, not mystic," not fabulous as the rest, not allegorical as some have fancied, but a real garden, which Solomon made for his wife, the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt. See Canticles. And thus, as the most beautiful countries in the world, iv. 268—285, could not vie with Paradise, so neither could the most delicious gardens equal this "flow'ry plat, the sweet recess of Eve."

450.————*tedded grass.*] Grass just mowed and spread for drying. See Lyes Junii Etymologicum under the word *Tede.*

457.————*her heav'nly form* &c.] This is a scene of much the same nature with that betwixt the Saracen king Aladin and the Italian virgin Sophronia in the 2d Canto of Tasso's Jerusalem: and tho' perhaps it would be going too far to say that Milton has borrowed from thence, yet I think it must give the reader some pleasure to see how two great geniuses naturally fall into the same thoughts upon similar subjects.

462. *His fierceness of the fierce intent*] Tho' Dr. Bentley thinks it jejune, yet such a repetition is not uncommon in the best poets

Et nostro *doluisti* sæpe *dolore*, Virg. Æn. i. 669.

468. *Though in mid Heav'n*,] That is, would do though he were in Heaven, or it may be understood as if he were sometimes in Heaven, and justified by Job i. 6. ii. 1. "There was a day, when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them to present himself before the Lord." And Satan speaks to the same purpose in Paradise Regain'd, i. 366.

—Nor from the Heav'n of Heav'ns
Hath he excluded my resort sometimes, &c.

478.———*other joy*
To me is lost.] How exactly does Milton make Satan keep up the character he had assumed in the fourth book, where he says,

Evil be thou my good, &c.

486.—*exempt from wound*,] As Eve had said before that they were "not capable of death or pain," ver. 283, that is as long as they continued innocent.

499. *Fold above fold* &c.] We have the description of such a sort of serpent in Ovid. Met. iii. 32. Translated thus by Addison.

Fire broke in flashes when he glanc'd his eyes;
His tow'ring crest was glorious to behold,
His shoulders and his sides were seal'd with gold.——
Spire above spire uprear'd in air he stood,
And gazing round him overlook'd the wood.

504.——*never since of serpent kind* &c.] Satan is not here compared and preferred to the finest and most memorable serpents of antiquity, the Python and the rest; but only to the most memorable of those serpents into which others were transformed; and with the greater propriety, as he was himself now transformed into a serpent. And in this view it is said that none were "lovelier, not those that in Illyria chang'd Hermione and Cadmus." Cadmus and his wife Harmonia or Hermione, for she is called by either name, and I presume Milton thought Hermione and Cadmus more musical in verse, as it certainly is, than Harmonia and Cadmus. This Cadmus, together

with his wife, leaving Thebes in Bœotia, which he had founded and for divers misfortunes quitted, and coming into Illyria, they were both turned into serpents for having slain one sacred to Mars, as we read in the fourth book of Ovid's Metamorphosis. But the expression, "those that chang'd Hermione and Cadmus," has occasioned some difficulty. Did those serpents, says Dr. Bentley, "change Hermione and Cadmus?" or were not these, who were man and woman once, *chang'd* into serpents? And Dr. Pearce replies, We may excuse this as a poetical liberty of expression; 'tis much the same as the critics have observed in Ovid's Metam. i. 1. where "formas mutatis in nova corpora" stands for "corpora mutata in novas formas." In both places the *changing* is attributed, not to the persons changed, but to the forms or shapes into which they were changed. They were therefore still Hermione and Cadmus, though chang'd; as the Devil was still the Devil, though inclosed in a serpent. And thus it may be said with the greatest propriety, that none of serpent kind were lovelier, "not those that in Illyria chang'd Hermione and Cadmus, or the God in Epidaurus," that is Æsculapius the God of physic, the son of Apollo, who was worshipped at *Epidaurus*, a city of Peloponnesus, and being sent for to Rome in the time of a plague assumed the form of a serpent, and accompanied the Ambassadors, as the story was related in the eleventh book of Livy, and may still be read in the fifteenth book of Ovid's Metamorphoses: but tho' he was thus changed in appearance, he was still Æsculapius. Nor were those serpents lovelier, "to which transform'd Ammonian Jove or Capitoline was seen," Jupiter Ammon and Jupiter Capitolinus, the one the Lybian Jupiter, the other the Roman, called Capitoline from the Capitol his temple at Rome: "He with Olympias," the first the pretended father of Alexander the Great, conversing with his mother Olympias in the form of a serpent: "this with her who bore Scipio the heighth of Rome," the latter fabled in like manner to have been the father of Scipio Africanus, who raised his country and himself to the highest pitch of glory.

513. *As when a ship*, &c.] There are some Latin poems of Andrew Ramsay, a Scotchman, in the time of Charles the first, under this title "Poemata sacra Andreæ Ramsæi Pastoris Edinburgeni. Edinburgi 1663." The book is now grown

very scarce, but there are few poems in it. The principal is one in four books, the first of the creation, the second of the happy state of man, the third of the fall of man, the fourth of the redemption of man by Jesus Christ: and this poem was recommended to me as a performance to which Milton had been much obliged and indebted: but upon perusing it I do not well see how two authors could write so much upon the same subjects, and write more differently. There are few or no traces to be discovered of any similitude or resemblance between them, but in the simile before us, and the following one of the Scotch poet, and these are so different, and applied so differently, that they may both be originals, or at least not the copy the one of the other. Milton's is applied to the oblique motion of the serpent, this of Ramsay to the Devil tempting our Saviour, and when one temptation would not avail, trying another:

—Ut vento portum qui fortè reflante
Non potis est capere, is malos et lintea vela
Carbaseosque sinus obliquat, tendere rectâ
Qua nequit, incurvo radit vada cærula cursu;
Sic gnarus versare dolos, et imagine falsa
Ludere Tartareus coluber, contingere metam
Se non posse videns primo molimite, cursum
Mutat, et ad palmam converso tramite tendit.

So that upon the whole it is to be questioned whether Milton had ever seen these poems of Ramsay, or knew any thing of them; different authors may easily hit upon the same thought without borrowing from one another.

522. *Than at Circean call the herd disguis'd,*] All beasts of the field used to play and sport before her, more obedient to her voice, than men turned into beasts by the famous inchantress Circe were to her.

531. *His fraudulent temptation thus began.*] We see by this first speech of Satan what our author thought the most probable, the most natural, and the most successful way of beginning a temptation upon a woman, namely flattery, extravagant admiration of her person, and fulsome commendations of her merit and beauty, and by these means engaging her attention, and so deluding her to ruin. This speech is much of the same strain and spirit with that which Satan had made to her before

in her dream, v. 37, &c. and it had a fatal effect, for

Into the heart of Eve his words made way.

To cry her up as a Goddess was the readiest way to make her a mere mortal.

563. *How cam'st thou speakable of mute,*] The word *speakable* is used in an active as well as in a passive sense, and may signify "what can speak as well as what can be spoken." Here it is to be understood in the former sense, speakable or able to speak.

581.—*sweetest fennel, or the teats*] He mentions such things as were reputed most agreeable to serpents. Feniculum anguibus gratissimum, says Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. xix. c. 9. sect. 56. They were likewise supposed to suck the teats of ewes and goats.

585.———*these fair apples,*] There is no knowing for certain what the forbidden fruit was. The common notion is that it was a sort of apple, and that is sufficient to justify a poet.

605————*all things fair and good;*

But all that fair and good in thy divine

Semblance, and in thy beauty's heav'nly ray

United I beheld;] This is very like what Adam had said before to the Angel, viii. 471. And it is really wonderful, that the poet could express things so much alike so differently, and yet both so well.

609. *Equivalent or second,*] Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum. Hor. Od. i. xii. 18.

612.———*universal Dame.*] The word *Dame* conveys a low idea at present: but formerly it was an appellation of respect and honour, and signified mistress or lady, and was probably derived from the French *dame* and the Latin *domina*. *Universal dame*, Domina universi.

613.———*So talk'd,* &c.] Milton has shown more art and ability in taking off the common objections to the Mosaic history of the temptation by the addition of some circumstances of his own invention, than in any other theologic part of his poem. *Warburton.*

631.—*He leading swiftly roll'd*

In tangles,] This is Virgil's *rapit orbes per humum*: but I think Tasso much exceeds them both in describing the rolling of a serpent. Cant. xv. st. 48.

Horrientra in se stesso, hor le nodose
Rote distende, e se dopo se tira.

643.——*and into fraud*] Fraud signifies hurt and damage, as well as deceit and illusion. Virg. Æn. x. 72.

Quis Deus in *fraudem*, quæ dura potentia nostra,
Egit?

And Milton often uses English words in the Latin signification.

653. *Sole daughter of his voice*;] Another Hebraism. *Bath Kol, the daughter of a voice*, is a noted phrase among the Jews, and they understand by it a voice from Heaven; and this command is called the *sole daughter*, as it is the only command that we read of, that was given to our first Parents in Paradise.

659.——*Of the fruit* &c.] This is exactly the answer of Eve in Genesis iii. 2, 3, put into verse. And it shows great art and judgment in our author, in knowing so well when to adhere to the words of Scripture, and when to amplify and inlarge upon them, as he does in Satan's reply to Eve.

673. *Stood in himself collected*,] This beautiful and nervous expression, which Milton has used in several places, was, I fancy, adopted from the Italian *in se raccolto*. I do not remember to have met with it in any English writer before his time.

675. *Sometimes in highth began, as no delay*
Of preface brooking through his zeal of right:] Thus Cicero in his first oration against Catiline—Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? &c. *Thyer*.

685.——*ye shall not die*:] Gen. iii. 4. And it is very artfully contrived by our author to make the Serpent give an instance in himself.

686. *How should ye? By the fruit? It gives you life*
To knowledge; by the threatner? Look on me,] So the passage should evidently be pointed. It was printed very wrong in Milton's own editions thus:

How should ye? By the fruit? it gives you life
To knowledge? By the threatner, look on me.

702. *Your fear itself of death removes the fear*.] Justice is inseparable from the very being and essence of God, so

that could he be unjust, he would be no longer God, and then neither to be obeyed nor feared; so that the fear of death, which does imply injustice in God, destroys itself, because God can as well cease to be, as cease to be just.

705.——*he knows that in the day* &c.] Gen. iii. 5. So that where the author comments and enlarges upon Scripture, he still preserves as much as may be the very words of Scripture.

714.——*to put on Gods*;] The Scripture expression as in 1 Cor. xv. 53. "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality."

727. *What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree*
Impart against his will if all be his?] Dr. Bentley says that Milton had said Gods in all the argument before, and therefore designed here,

What can your knowledge hurt *them*, or this tree
Impart against *their* will, if all be *theirs*?

But Milton had said *God* in ver. 692. and 700; and I think he uses the singular number in the very next preceding sentence, ver. 722.

——*who* inclos'd
Knowledge of good and evil in this tree?

So that *him* and *his* here refer to him, *who inclos'd* &c.

He seems to use both numbers promiscuously, sometimes speaking of *God*, sometimes of *Gods*; and I think we may observe that he generally speaks of *Gods*, when the sentiment would be too horrid, if it was spoken of *God*.

739. *Meanwhile the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd*
An eager appetite,] This is a circumstance beautifully added by our author to the Scripture account, in order to make the folly and impiety of Eve appear less extravagant and monstrous.

750.—*he also who forbids*] As if it had not been God who had forbidden; but God was not now in all her thoughts. She afterwards professes he self ignorant of him, ver. 775.

777. *Fair to the eye, inviting to the taste,*
Of virtue to make wise:] Gen. iii. 6. "The woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise."

793. *And highten'd as with wine*, &c.] That secret intoxication of pleasure, with all those transient flushings of

guilt and joy, which the poet represents in our first parents upon their eating the forbidden fruit, to those flaggings of spirit, damps of sorrow, and mutual accusations which succeed it, are conceived with a wonderful imagination, and described in very natural sentiments. *Addison.*

794. *Thus to herself* &c.] As our author had in the preceding conference betwixt our first parents described with the greatest art and decency the subordination and inferiority of the female character in strength of reason and understanding; so in this soliloquy of Eve, after tasting the forbidden fruit, one may observe the same judgment, in his varying and adapting it to the condition of her fallen nature. Instead of those little defects in her intellectual faculties before the fall, which were sufficiently compensated by her outward charms, and were rather softnings than blemishes in her character, we see her now running into the greatest absurdities, and indulging the wildest imaginations. It has been remarked that our poet in this work seems to court the favour of his female readers very much, yet I cannot help thinking, but that in this place he intended a satirical as well as a moral hint to the ladies, in making one of Eve's first thoughts after her fatal lapse to be, how to get the superiority and mastery over her husband.

795. ——————*precious of all trees,*] The positive for the superlative; the most precious of all trees; as Virg. Æn. iv. 576. "Sequimur te Sancte Deorum."

805. *Though others envy what they cannot give;*] She resolves to eat of the tree till she equals the Gods in knowledge, *though others envy*; she means the Gods, though for decency's sake she names them not.

811. *And I perhaps am secret;*] She questions even God's omniscience, and flatters herself that she is still in secret, like other sinners, who say, "The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it, Psal. xciv. 7.

825. ————*for inferior who is free?*] It would appear from this, that women, had they not leagued with *the Devil*, would have never aimed at equality with men. There is a very humorous tale in Chaucer, which is also versified by Dryden, wherein the question is proposed, what it is that women most affect and desire? Some say wealth, some beauty, some flat-

tery, some in short one thing, and some another; but the true answer is sovereignty. And the thought of attaining the superiority over her husband is very artfully made one of the first that Eve entertains after her eating of the forbidden fruit; but still her love of Adam and jealousy of another Eve prevail even over that. Fielding says that it is written in the book of Nature, that a woman will go half way to the Devil to prevent another woman from enjoying a Man with the enjoyment of whom she is pleased.

838.——————*Adam the while* &c.] Andromache is thus described as amusing herself, and preparing for the return of Hector, not knowing that he was already slain by Achilles.

845—*divine of something ill*, &c.] Forboding something ill.

875.——————*opener mine eyes,*
Dim erst, dilated spirits, ampler heart,
And growing up to Godhead;] Milton in the manner of expression here seems pretty plainly to allude to what Thirsis in Tasso's Aminta says of himself upon his seeing Phœbus and the Muses, act. i. sc. 2.

Sentii mè far di mé stesso maggiore,
Pien di noua virtu, piena di noua
Deitade.

892. *From his slack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve*
Down dropt,] The beauty of the numbers, as well as of the image here, must strike every reader. There is the same kind of beauty in the placing of the words *Down dropt*, as in this passage of Virgil, Æn. ii. 531,

Ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum,
Concidit.

908. *How can I live without thee, how forgo*
Thy sweet converse, and love so dearly join'd,] Dr. Bentley reads *so dearly joy'd*, the same as *enjoy'd*, as in ver. 166.

Who might have liv'd and *joy'd* immortal bliss.

But there is no occasion for this alteration; the passage may very well be understood sweetened and indeared by love; if he lost her, he could only converse with Angels, where he should want the dear addition of love. But the sense is much better as Dr. Pearce understands it, that is, *the sweet converse and love* of thee *so dearly join'd* to me.

910. *To live again in these wild woods forlorn?*] How vastly expressive are these words of Adam's tenderness and affection for Eve, as they imply that the mere imagination of losing her had already converted the sweets of Paradise into the horrors of a desolate wilderness?

920. *Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd.*] He had till now been speaking to himself; now his speech turns to her, but not with violence, not with noise and rage, it is a deep considerate melancholy. The line cannot be pronounced but as it ought, slowly, gravely.

922. ——— *who thus hast dar'd,*] So it is in the first edition, but in the second by mistake it is printed *hath dar'd*, and that is followed by some others.

928. *Perhaps thou shalt not die*, &c.] How just a picture does Milton here give us of the natural imbecility of the human mind, and its aptness to be warped into false judgments and reasonings by passion and inclination! Adam but just condemned the action of Eve in eating the forbidden fruit, and yet drawn by his fondness for her, immediately summons all the force of his reason to prove what she had done to be right. This may probably appear a fault to superficial readers, but all intelligent ones will, I dare say, look upon it as a proof of our author's exquisite knowledge of human nature. Reason is but too often little better than a slave ready at the command of the will to dress up in plausible colours any opinions that our interest or resentment have made agreeable.

978.—*I would sustain alone*, &.] We have followed the punctuation of the first edition, as the sense requires, which is plainly this, If I thought the death that was threatened would be the consequence of this my attempt, I would suffer the worst alone, and not endeavour to persuade thee, I would rather die by myself forsaken of thee, than oblige thee with a fact, &c. *Oblige* is used here in the large sense of the Latin word *obligo*, which signifies not only to bind, but to render obnoxious to guilt or punishment. We have in Cicero, "Cum populum Romanum scelere *obligâssos*."

989. *And fear of death deliver to the winds.*] "To deliver to the winds" is a sort of proverbial expression, Hor. Od. i. xxxvi. 1.

——Tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis

998. —— ——*not deceiv'd,*

But fondly overcome with female charm,] According to the historical relation of Moses, he did not plead for himself, that he was deceived (the excuse of Eve cheated by the Serpent) but rather enticed and persuaded by her: "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat." Gen. iii. 12. Whence St Paul, "Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression," 1 Tim. ii. 14.

Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?
Virg. Æn. iv. 412. *Hume.*

1000. *Earth trembl'd from her entrails,*] When Dido in the fourth Æneid yielded to that fatal temptation which ruined her, Virgil tells us the Earth trembled, the Heavens were filled with flashes of lightning, and the nymphs howled upon the mountain tops. Milton, in the same poetical spirit, has described all Nature as disturbed upon Eve's eating the forbidden fruit, ver. 780.

So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd, she eat:
Earth felt the wound, and nature from her seat
Sighing, through all her works gave signs of woe,
That all was lost.

Upon Adam's falling into the same guilt, the whole creation appears a second time in convulsions. As all Nature suffered by the guilt of our first parents, these symptoms of trouble and consternation are wonderfully imagined, not only as prodigies, but as marks of her sympathising in the fall of Man. *Addison.*

1002. *Sky lour'd and muttering thunder,*] It is not meant that thunder also lour'd, but "Sky lour'd, and muttering thunder" in the ablative case absolute, "some sad drops wept at completing of the mortal sin." It was not loud claps of thunder, but muttering thunder, melancholy and mournful.

1029. *For never did thy beauty* &c.] Adam's converse with Eve after having eaten the forbidden fruit, is an exact copy of that between Jupiter and Juno in the fourteenth Iliad. Juno here approaches Jupiter with the girdle which she had received

from Venus; upon which he tells her, that she appeared more charming and desirable than she had ever done before, even when their loves were at the highest. The poet afterwards describes them as reposing on the summit of mount Ida, which produced under them a bed of flowers, the lotos, the crocus, and the hyacinth; and concludes his description with their falling asleep. Let the reader compare this with the following passage in Milton, which begins with Adam's speech to Eve. As no poet seems ever to have studied Homer more, or to have more resembled him in the greatness of genius than Milton, I think I should have given a very imperfect account of his beauties, if I had not observed the most remarkable passages which look like parallels in these two great authors. I might, in the course of these criticisms, have taken notice of many particular lines and expressions which are translated from the Greek poet; but as I thought this would have appeared too minute and over-curious, I have purposely omitted them. The greater incidents, however, are not only set off by being shown in the same light with several of the same nature in Homer, but by that means may be also guarded against the cavils of the tasteless or ignorant. *Addison.*

Our author had in mind the conversation between Paris and Helen in the third Iliad, as well as that between Jupiter and Juno on mount Ida. And as Mr. Pope observes, it is with wonderful judgment and decency that Milton has used that exceptionable passage of the dalliance, ardour, and enjoyment of Jupiter and Juno. That which seems in Homer an impious fiction, becomes a moral lesson in Milton; since he makes that lascivious rage of the passion the immediate effect of the sin of our first parents after the fall.

1034. *So said he, and forbore not glance or toy* &c.] What a fine contrast does this description of the amorous follies of our first parents after the fall make to that lovely picture of the same passion in its state of innocence in the preceding book, ver. 510.

——— ——— To the nuptial bower
I led her blushing like the morn: all Heaven,
And happy constellation, &c.

1067. *O Eve, in evil hour* &c.] As this whole transaction between Adam and Eve is manifestly copied from the episode

of Jupiter and Juno on mount Ida, has many of the same circumstances, and often the very words translated, so it concludes exactly after the same manner in a quarrel. Adam awakes much in the same humour as Jupiter, and their cases are somewhat parallel; they are both overcome by their fondness for their wives, and are sensible of their error too late, and then their love turns to resentment, and they grow angry with their wives, when they should rather have been angry with themselves for their weakness in hearkening to them.

1084. *O might I here* &c.

Cover me ye Pines, &c.] A wish more ardent and passionate than that of Virgil, Georg. ii. 488.

O, qui me gelidis in valibus Hæmi
Sistat, et ingenti ramorem protegat umbra!

1100. *Into the thickest wood; there soon they chose*

The fig-tree, &c.] The sacred text says, Gen. iii. 7, that "they sowed fig-leaves together;" and Milton adheres to the Scripture expression, which has given occasion to the sneer, "What could they do for needles and thread? But the original signifies no more than that they twisted the young twigs of the fig-tree round about their waists, in the manner of a Roman crown, for which purpose the fig-tree, of all others, especially in those eastern countries, was the most serviceable; because it hath, as Pliny says, lib. xvi. cap. xxvi. *folium maximum umbrosissimumque*, the greatest and most shady leaf of all others. And our author follows the best commentators, supposing that this was the Indian fig-tree, the account of which he borrows from Pliny, lib. xii. c. v. as Pliny had done before from Theophrastus. It was "not that kind for fruit renown'd," and Pliny says that the largeness of the leaves hindered the fruit from growing; "*hâc causâ* fructum integens, *crescere prohibet*; *rarusque est*." "It branches so broad and long that in the ground the bended twigs take root, and daughters grow about the mother tree, a pillar'd shade high overarch'd:" As Pliny says, "Ipsa se semper serens, vastis diffunditur ramis; quorum imi adeo in terram curvantur, ut annuo spatio infigantur, novamque sibi propaginem faciant circa parentem——— quodam opere topiario—fornicato ambitu." *There oft the Indian herdsman shunning heat shelters in cool*, &c; "Intra septem eam æstivant pastores &c." And its *leaves are broad as Amazo-*

nian targe: "Foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem Amazonicæ habet." Sir Walter Raleigh, upon his own knowledge, gives very much the same account of this Ficus Indica in his History of the World, b. i. c. iv. s. 2.

1115. ——————*such of late*

Columbus found the American, &c.] Columbus, who made the first discovery of America about the year 1492, found the Americans so girt about the waste with feathers, as Adam and Eve were with fig-leaves.

1162 *To whom then first incens'd Adam reply'd.*] As Adam is now first angry, his speech is abrupt and his sentences broken.

BOOK X.

16. *And manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.*] EVERY sin is complicated in some degree: and the Divines, especially those of Milton's communion, reckon up several sins as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit, namely, pride, uxoriousness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience, *&c.* so that for such complicated guilt he "deserv'd to fall" from his happy state in Paradise.

17. *Up into Heav'n, &c.*] The tenth book of Paradise Lost has a greater variety of persons in it than any other in the whole poem. The author upon the winding up of this action introduces all those who had any concern in it, and shows with great beauty the influence which it had upon each of them. It is like the last act of a well written tragedy, in which all who had a part in it are generally drawn up before the audience, and represented under those circumstances in which the determination of the action places them. I shall therefore consider this book under four heads, in relation to the celestial, the infernal, the human, and the imaginary persons, who have their respective parts allotted in it. To begin with the celestial persons. The guardian Angels of Paradise are described as returning to Heaven upon the fall of Man, in order to approve their vigilance; their arrival, their manner of reception, with the sorrow which appeared in themselves, and in those Spirits who are said to rejoice at the conversion of a sinner, are very finely laid together in the following lines. *Addison.*

23.———*dim sadness did not spare*
That time celestial visages, yet mix'd
With pity, violated not their bliss.] What a just and noble idea does our author here give us of the blessedness of a bene-

volent temper, and how proper at the same time to obviate the objection that might be made of sadness dwelling in heavenly spirits! *Thyer.*

Here *pity* is made to prevent their sadness from violating their bliss: but the latter passion is so far from alleviating the former, that it adds weight to it. If you read "mix'd with pity" in a parenthesis, this cross reasoning will be avoided.

Warburton.

It is plain that Milton conceiv'd sadness "mix'd with pity" to be more consistent with heavenly bliss than sadness without that compassionate temper. There is something pleasing, something divine even in the melancholy of a merciful mind.

43.———*Against his Maker,*] Such as Satan had suggested, that all things did not proceed from God, that God kept the forbidden fruit from them out of envy, *&c.*

53. *Forbearance no acquittance*] These proverbial expressions are very improper any where in an epic poem, but much more when they are made to proceed from the mouth of God himself.

56.———*to thee I have transfer'd*
All judgment,] According to John v. 22.

59. *Mercy colleague with justice,*] According to that of the Psalmist, "Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Psal. lxxxv. 10.

71.———*I go to judge* &c.] The same divine Person, who in the foregoing parts of this poem interceded for our first parents before their fall, overthrew the rebel Angels, and created the world, is now represented as descending to Paradise, and pronouncing sentence upon the three offenders. The cool of the evening being a circumstance with which holy Writ introduces this great scene, it is poetically described by our author, who has also kept religiously to the form of words, in which the three several sentences were passed upon Adam, Eve, and the Serpent. The guilt and confusion of our first parents, standing naked before their judge, is touched with great beauty. *Addison.*

84. *Conviction to the serpent none belongs.*] No proof is needful against the serpent, compelled by Satan to be the ignorant instrument of his malice against mankind, now mute and unable to answer for himself.

86. *Of high collateral glory:*] He uses *collateral*, as he does most other words, in a sense agreeable to the etymology, side by side. The Son sat at the right hand of the Father, and rising from thence he may properly be said to rise "from his seat of high collateral glory," or as it is elsewhere expressed, vi. 747, "from the right hand of glory where he sat." The word was used before in viii. 426.

92. *Now was the sun in western cadence low*
From noon, and gentle airs &c.] This beautiful description is founded upon this verse, Genesis iii. 8. "And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day; and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden."

102.————*to Adam call'd aloud.*
Where art thou Adam?] According to Gen. iii. 9.

116. *I heard thee in the garden, and of thy voice*
Afraid, being naked, hid myself.] Gen. iii. 10, versified.

121.——*that thou' art naked, who*
Hath told thee? Hast thou eaten of the tree,
Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat?] Gen. iii. 11, also versified.

137. *This Woman, whom thou mad'st to be my help,*
And gav'st me as thy perfect gift—
She gave me of the tree, and I did eat.] As in Gen. iii. 12. We see that he still preserves all that is Scripture, though he intermixes other things which were likely enough to have been said and done.

151.————————————*Adorn'd*
She was indeed, and lovely to attract
Thy love, not thy subjection;] The same sort of sentiment as the Angel had inculcated viii. 568.

—fair no doubt, and worthy well
Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love,
Not thy subjection.

And in other parts of his work our author seems to have been a strenuous advocate for keeping up the authority of the husband.

158. *Say Woman, what is this which thou hast done?* Gen. iii. 13.

169.————————*more to know*

Concern'd not man, (since he no further knew)] This is badly expressed. The meaning is, as Man was not to be let into the mystery of the redemption at this time, it did not concern him to know that the serpent was but the instrument of the Devil.

175 *Because thou hast done this*, &c.] As near as may be to the very words of Gen. iii. 14, 15. This adherence to Scripture he has preserved in the five preceding and five following verses quoted by him of this chapter, although thereby he destroyed the harmony of his verse. He thought without doubt that to mix any thing of his own would be a violation of decency, and a profanation, like that of Uzzah's putting forth his hand to the ark of God.

182.————*oracle, then verify'd*

When Jesus Son of Mary, &c.] Here is a manifest indication, That, when Milton wrote this passage, he thought Paradise was chiefly regained at our Saviour's resurrection. This would have been a copious and sublime subject for a second poem. The wonders then to be described would have erected even an ordinary poet's genius; and in episodes he might have introduced his conception, birth, miracles, and all the history of his administration, while on earth. And I much grieve, that instead of this he should choose for the argument of his Paradis Regain'd the fourth chapter of St. Luke, "the temptation in the wilderness;" a dry, barren, and narrow ground, to build an epic poem on. In that work he has amplified his scanty materials to a surprizing dignity; but yet, being cramped down by a wrong choice, without the expected applause.

Bentley.

191. *And to the Woman thus his sentence turn'd*. &c.] According to Gen. iii. 16.

197. *On Adam last thus judgment he pronounc'd*. &c.] He is equally exact in reporting the sentence pronounced upon Adam, Gen. iii. 17, 18, 19.

216.————————————*be clad*

Their nakedness with skins of beasts,] Gen. iii. 21.

230.————*sat Sin and Death*,] We are now to consider the imaginary persons, or *Sin* and *Death*, who act a large part in this book. Such beautiful extended allegories are certainly some of the finest compositions of genius: but, as I have be-

fore observed, are not agreeable to the nature of an heroic poem. This of *Sin* and *Death* is very exquisite in it's kind, if not considered as a part of such a work. The truths contained in it are so clear and open, that I shall not lose time in explaining them; but shall only observe, that a reader who knows the strength of the English tongue, will be amazed to think how the poet could find such apt words and phrases to describe the actions of those two imaginary persons, and particularly in that part where Death is exhibited as forming a bridge over the Chaos; a work suitable to the genius of Milton. Since the subject I am upon gives me an opportunity of speaking more at large of such shadowy and imaginary persons as may be introduced into heroic poems, I shall beg leave to explain myself in a matter which is curious in its kind, and of which none of the critics have treated. It is certain that Homer and Virgil are full of imaginary persons, who are very beautiful in poetry, when they are just shown, without being engaged in any series of action. Homer indeed represents *Sleep* as a person, and ascribes a short part to him in his Iliad; but we must consider that tho' we now regard such a person as entirely shadowy and unsubstantial, the Heathens made statues of him, placed him in their temples, and looked upon him as a real deity. When Homer makes use of other such allegorical persons, it is only in short expressions, which convey an ordinary thought to the mind in the most pleasing manner, and may be rather looked upon as poetical phrases than allegorical descriptions. Instead of telling us that men naturally fly when they are terrified, he introduces the persons of Flight and Fear, who, he tells us, are inseparable companions. Instead of saying that the time was come when Apollo ought to have received his recompence, he tells us, that the Hours brought him his reward. Instead of describing the effects which Minerva's Ægis produced in battle, he tells us that the brims of it were encompassed by Terror, Rout, Discord, Fury, Pursuit, Massacre, and Death. In the same figure of speaking, he represents Victory as following Diomedes; Discord as the mother of funerals and mourning; Venus as dressed by the Graces; Bellona as wearing Terror and consternation like a garment. It is plain that these I have mentioned, in which persons of an imaginary nature are introduced, are such short allegories as are not designed to be taken

in the literal sense, but only to convey particular circumstances to the reader after an unusual and entertaining manner. But when such persons are introduced as principal actors, and engaged in a series of adventures, they take too much upon them, and are by no means proper for an heroic poem, which ought to appear credible in its principal parts. I cannot forbear therefore thinking that Sin and Death are as improper agents in a work of this nature, as Strength and Necessity in one of the tragedies of Æschylus, who represented those two persons nailing down Prometheus to a rock, for which he has been justly censured by the greatest critics. I do not know any imaginary person made use of in a more sublime manner of thinking than that in one of the prophets, who describing God as descending from Heaven, and visiting the sins of mankind, adds that dreadful circumstance, "Before him went the Pestilence." It is certain this imaginary person might have been described in all her purple spots. The Fever might have marched before her, Pain might have stood at her right hand, Phrenzy on her left, and Death in her rear. She might have been introduced as gliding down from the tail of a comet, or darted upon the earth in a flash of lightning: she might have tainted the atmosphere with her breath; the very glaring of her eyes might have scattered infection. But I believe every reader will think, that in such sublime writings the mentioning of her, as it is done in Scripture, has something in it more just, as well as great, than all that the most fanciful poet could have bestowed upon her in the richness of his imagination.

Addison.

245. ——— *whatever draws me on,*

Or sympathy, or some connatural force,] The modern philosopher may perhaps take offence at this new exploded notion, but every friend to the Muses will, I doubt not, pardon it for the sake of that fine strain of poetry, which it has given the poet an opportunity of introducing in the following description.

Thyer.

260. ——— ——— *for intercourse*

Or transmigration, as their lot shall lead.] *Intercourse*, passing frequently backward and forward; *transmigration*, quitting Hell once for all to inhabit the new creation; they were uncertain which their lot should be. *Richardson.*

273.——————*As when a flock*
Of ravenous fowl, &c.] Of vultures particularly it is said by Pliny that they will fly three days before hand to places where there are future carcases. "Triduo autem antea volare eos, ubi cadavera futura sunt." Lib. x. cap. vi.

280. *His nostril wide into the murky air*,] "Et patulis captavit naribus auras." Virg. Georg. i. 376.
"Murky air," black tainted air.

289. *As when two Polar winds*, &c.] Sin and Death flying into different parts of Chaos, and driving all the matter they meet with there in shoals towards the mouth of hell, are compared to "two polar winds," north and south, "blowing adverse upon the Cronian sea," the northern frozen sea, and "driving together mountains of ice, that stop th' imagin'd way," the north-east passage as it is called, which so many have attempted to discover, "beyond Petsora eastward, the most north-eastern province of Muscovy, "to the rich Cathaian coast," Cathay or Catay, a country of Asia and the northern part of China.

296. *As Delos floating once*;] An island in the Archipelago said to have floated about in the sea, till it became the birth place of Apollo. Callimachus in his hymn called Delos has given a lively description of this matter.

304. ——*from hence a passage broad*.
Smooth, easy, inoffensive down to Hell.] Virg. Æn. vi.

306. *So Xerxes* &c.] This simile is very exact and beautiful. As Sin and Death built a bridge over Chaos to subdue and enslave mankind: "So, if great things to small may be compar'd," Xerxes, the Persian monarch, to bring the free states of Greece under his yoke, "came from Susa," the residence of the Persian monarchs, called Memnonia by Herodotus, of Memnon, who built it and reigned there; "and over Hellespont bridging his way," and building a bridge over Hellespont, the narrow sea by Constantinople, that divides Europe from Asia, to march his large army over it, "Europe with Asia join'd, and scourg'd with many a stroke th' indignant waves," alluding particularly to Xerxes's madness in ordering the sea to be whipt for the loss of some of his ships; "indignant waves," scorning and raging to be so confin'd.

312.——————*by wondrous art*

Pontifical.] By the strange art of raising bridges. Pontifex, the high priest of the Romans, had that name from *pons* a bridge, and *facere* to make: "Quia sublicius pons a Pontificibus factus est primum, et restitutus sæpe, according to Varro." *Hume.*

"Art pontifical," this is a very bad expression to signify the art of building bridges, and yet to suppose a pun would be worse, as if the Roman priesthood were as ready to make the way easy to Hell, as Sin and Death did. *Warburton.*

322.—*on the left hand Hell*] He places Hell on the left hand according to our Saviour's description of the day of Judgment, "Then shall he say unto them on the left hand," Matt. xxv. 41.

345.————————————*with joy*
And tidings fraught,] That is with joyful tidings. So Virgil, "Munera lætitiamque Dei," Æn. i. 636, for "munera læta. Squamis auroque," Æn. viii. 436, for auriea squamis.

348. *Of this new wondrous pontifice,*] The new bridge, the effect of "wondrous art pontifical," ver. 312.

368. *Thou hast atchiev'd our liberty, confin'd*
Within Hell gates till now,——] What, "liberty confin'd in Hell?" a mere contradiction, says Dr. Bentley. Begging the Doctor's pardon, a most common Latin construction, the possessive pronoun for the primitive. *See Eaton Grammar, page* 88.

383.———*The Prince of darkness*] Satan may well be so called, since his Angels are stiled in Scripture, "the rulers of darkness of this world," Eph. vi. 12.

386.———*for I glory in the name,*
Antagonist, &c.] The name Satan signifies Antagonist or Adversary, as we observed before.

408.————————*prevail,*] So it is in the first edition, in the second it is "prevails."

409. *No detriment need fear;*] Here our author plainly alludes to the charge given by the Roman senate to the supreme magistrate in times of danger—"providere nequid resp. detrimenti accipiat." *Thyer.*

409————*go and be strong.*] Satan encourages Sin and Death in much the same words as Moses does Joshua. Deut. xxxi. 7, 8.

413. *And planets planet-struck,*] We say of a thing when it

is blasted and withered, that it is "planet-struck;" and that is now applied to the planets themselves. And what a sublime idea doth it give us of the devastations of Sin and Death!

429.—*paragon'd.*] Of *poragonner* (French) to be equal, to be like. An exact idea or likeness of a thing, able to contest with the original. *Hume.*

431. *As when the Tartar* &c.] As when the Tartar retreats from his Muscovite enemy, "over the snowy plains by Astracan," a considerable part of the Czar's dominion, formerly a Tartarian kingdom, with a capital city of the same name, near the mouth of the river Volga, at its fall into the Caspian sea; "or Bactrian Sophi," or the Persian Emperor, named Bactrian of Bactria, one of the greatest and richest provinces of Persia, lying near the Caspian sea, "from the horns of Turkish Crescent," from his Turkish enemies who bear the horned moon, the crescent in their ensigns, "leaves all waste beyond the realm of Aladule," the greater Armenia, called by the Turks (under whom the greatest part of it is) Aladule, of its last king Aladules, slain by Selymus the first, "in his retreat to Tauris," a great city in the kingdom of Persia, now called Ecbatana, sometime in the hands of the Turks, but in 1603 retaken by Abbas king of Persia, "or Casbeen," one of the greatest cities of Persia, in the province of Ayrach, formerly Parthia, towards the Caspian sea, where the Persian monarchs made their residence after the loss of Tauris, from which it is distant 65 German miles to the south-east. *Hume.*

455. *Their mighty chief return'd:*] We are in the next place to consider the infernal agents under the view which Milton has given us of them in this book. It is observed by those who would set forth the greatness of Virgil's plan, that he conducts his reader thro' all the parts of the earth which were discovered in his time. Asia, Afric, and Europe are the several scenes of his fable. The plan of Milton's poem is of an infinitely greater extent, and fills the mind with many more astonishing circumstances. Satan having surrounded the earth seven times, departs at length from Paradise. We then see him steering his course among the constellations, and after having traversed the whole creation, pursuing his voyage thro' the Chaos, and entering into his own infernal dominions. His first appearance in the assembly of fallen Angels, is worked up with

circumstances which give a delightful surprise to the reader; but there is no incident in the whole poem which does this more than the transformation of the whole audience, that follows the account their leader gives them of his expedition. The gradual change of Satan himself is described after Ovid's manner, and may vie with any of those celebrated transformations which are looked upon as the most beautiful parts in that poet's works. Milton never fails of improving his own hints, and bestowing the last finishing touches to every incident which is admitted into his poem. The unexpected hiss which rises in this episode, the dimensions and bulk of Satan so much superior to those of the infernal Spirits who lay under the same transformations, with the annual change which they are supposed to suffer, are instances of this kind. The beauty of the diction is very remarkable in this whole episode, as I have observed before the great judgment with which it was contrived

Addison.

460. *Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,*] It is common with Homer to make use of the same verse several times, and especially at the beginning of his speeches; but I know not whether there is not more of simplicity in the practice than beauty. Our author, however, hath done the same with this line; but it is curious to observe how artfully he has managed it, and by repeating it every time gives new beauty to it.

480. *Protesting Fate supreme;*] Calling upon Fate as a witness against my proceedings. But this seems not perfectly to agree with the account in book the second. It was indeed with labour and difficulty that Satan journeyed thro' Chaos, but we do not read of Chaos and the other Powers "fiercely opposing him," or "protesting Fate with clamorous uproar." On the contrary Chaos bids him

——————go and speed;
Havoc and spoil, and ruin are my gain.

But Satan is here extolling his own performances, and perhaps the author did not intend, that the father of lies should keep strictly to truth.

496.—*that which to me belongs,*] Our author understands the sentence (as the most learned and orthodox divines do) as referring partly to Satan, the author of malice, and partly to the Serpent, the instrument of it.

513.—*still supplanted down he fell*] We may observe here a singular beauty and elegance in Milton's language, and that is his using words in their strict and literal sense, which are commonly applied to a metaphorical meaning, whereby he gives peculiar force to his expressions, and the literal meaning appears more new and striking than the metaphor itself. We have an instance of this in the word "supplanted," which is derived from the Latin *supplanto*, to trip up one's heels or overthrow, "a planta pedis subtus emota:" and there are abundance of other examples in several parts of this work, but let it suffice to have taken notice of it here once for all.

514. *A monstrous serpent on his belly prone,*] Our author, in describing Satan's transformation into a serpent, had no doubt in mind the transformation of Cadmus in the fourth book of the Metamorphosis, to which he had alluded before in book ix. 905. And as several particulars are alike in both, it may be agreeable to the reader to compare both together. Ovid. Met. iv. 575, &c.

Dixit, et ut serpens in longam tenditur alvum;
In pectusque cadit pronus; commissaque in unum
Paulatim tereti sinuantur acumine crura——
Ille quidem vult plura loqui sed lingua repente
In partes est fissa duas: nec verba volenti
Sufficient; quotiesque aliquos paret edere questus,
Sibilat; hanc illi vocem Natura relinquit.

But there is something much more astonishing in Milton than in Ovid; for there only Cadmus and his wife are changed into serpents, but here myriads of Angels are transformed all together.

528. *Ophiusa*] A small island in the Mediterranean, so called by the Greeks, and by the Latins Colubraria; the inhabitants quitted it for fear of being devoured by serpents.

529. *Now Dragon grown,*] In the same place, where Lucan gives an account of the various serpents of Lybia, he describes the Dragon as the greatest and most terrible of them all: And our Author, who copies him in the rest, very rightly attributes this form to Satan, and especially since he is called in Scripture "the great Dragon," Rev. xii. 9. He may well be said to be larger than the fabulous Python, that was engendered of the slime after the Deucalion Deluge, "in the Pythian vale"

near Pythia, a city of Greece. See the description of this monster, Ovid's Metamorphosis, i. 438.

560 *That curl'd Megæra:*] She was one of the Furies, whose hair was serpents, as Medusa's;

——crinita draconibus ora. Ov. Met. iv. 771.

562. *Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd;*] The lake Asphaltites near which Sodom and Gomorrah were situated. Josephus affirms, the shapes and fashions of them and three other cities, called "the cities of the plain," were to be seen in his days, and trees loaden with fair fruit (stiled the apples of Sodom) rising out of the ashes, which at the first touch dissolved into ashes and smoke. b. iv. of the Wars of the Jews, c. 8.

568.——————*drug'd*] It is a metaphor taken from the general nauseousness of drugs, when they are taken by way of medicine. *Pearce.*

Physic'd, tormented with the hateful taste usually found in drugs. *Richardson.*

575.——————*some say,*] I know not, or cannot recollect from what author or what tradition Milton hath borrowed this notion. Mr. Warburton believes that he took the hint from the old romances, of which he was a great reader; where it is very common to meet with these annual, or monthly, or weekly penances of men changed into animals: but the words "some say" seem to imply that he has some express authority for it, and what approaches nearest to it is the speech of the Fairy Manto in Ariosto, Cant. 43. St. 98.

Each sev'nth day we constrained are to take
Upon ourselves the person of a snake, *&c.* *Harrington.*

580. *Ophion*] According to the Greek etymology signifies a serpent, and therefore Milton conceives that by Ophion the old Serpent might be intended, "the Serpent whom they called Ophion:" and Eurynome, signifying wide-ruling, he says, but says doubtfully, that she might be the "wide-encroaching Eve perhaps." For I understand the *wide-encroaching* not as an epithet to Eurynome, explaining her name, but as an epithet to Eve, Milton having placed the comma after Eurynome, and not after the wide-encroaching. And besides some epithet should be added to Eve to shew the similitude between her and Eurynome, and why he takes the one for the other; and there-

fore in allusion to the name of Eurynome he stiles Eve "the wide-encroaching, as extending her rule and dominion farther than she should over her husband, and affecting Godhead.

590. *On his pale horse:*] Tho' the author in the whole course of his poem, and particularly in the book we are now examining, has infinite allusions to places of Scripture, I have only taken notice in my remarks of such as are of a poetical nature, and which are woven with great beauty into the body of his fable. Of this kind is that passage in the present book, where describing Sin and Death, as marching through the works of Nature, he adds,

——behind her Death
Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horse:——

Which alludes to that passage in Scripture, so wonderfully poetical, and terrifying to the imagination, Rev. vi. 8. "And I looked, and behold a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with Death, and with the beast of the earth." *Addison.*

641. *He ended, and the heav'nly audience loud*
Sung Halleluiah,] Dr. Bentley reads "and to him the audience loud" &c. Without this (says he) it is not said to whom they sung; and the words "Next, to the Son," ver. 645, show that they sung before to him, to the Father. But this objection is founded upon the Doctor's not observing the force of the word *Halleluiah*, where *Jah* signifies *to God*, the Father; and therefore there was no need of *to him*. See vii. 634.

642.——*as the sound of seas,*
Through multitude that sung:] This passage is formed upon that glorious image in holy Writ, which compares the voice of an innumerable host of Angels, uttering Halleluiahs to the voice of mighty thunderings or of many waters. *Addison.*

643.——*Just are thy ways,*
Righteous are thy decrees] The same song which they are represented singing in Rev. xv. 3; xvi. 7. As in the foregoing passage he alluded to Rev. xix. 6. "And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, saying, Halleluiah."

650.——*gave them several charge*] Under this head of celestial persons we must likewise take notice of the command which the Angels received to produce the several changes in nature, and sully the beauty of the creation. Accordingly they are represented as infecting the stars and planets with malignant influences, weakening the light of the sun, bringing down the winter into the milder regions of nature, planting winds and storms in several quarters of the sky, storing the clouds with thunder, and in short perverting the whole frame of the universe to the condition of its criminal inhabitants. As this is a noble incident in the poem, the following lines, in which we see the angels heaving up the earth, and placing it in a different posture to the sun from what it had before the fall of Man, are conceived with that sublime imagination which was so peculiar to this great author.

Some say he bid his Angels turn ascance *&c.* *Addison.*

656. *To the blanc moon &c.*] Of the French, *blanc*, white, as Virgil calls her *candida luna*, Æn. vii. 8; and the Italian poets frequently *bianca luna*. And that is said here of the moon, and of the stars, "Which of them rising with the sun, or falling, should prove tempestuous," was written probably not without an eye to Virgil, Georg. i. 335.

In fear of this observe the starry signs,
Where Saturn houses, and where Hermes joins.—
The Sov'reign of the Heav'ns has set on high
The moon, to mark the changes of the sky,
When southern blasts should cease. *Dryden.*

659. *In sextile, square, and trine, and opposite*] If a planet, in one part of the Zodiac be distant from another by a *sixth* part of twelve, that is by two signs, their *aspect* is called *sextile*; if by a *fourth*, *square*; by a third, *trine*; and if by one half, *opposite*, which last is said to be of *noxious efficacy*, because the planets so opposed are thought to strive, debilitate, and overcome one another: deemed of evil consequence to those born under or subject to the influence of the distressed star. If an unnecessary ostentation of learning be, as Mr. Addison observes, one of our author's faults, it certainly must be an aggravation of it, where he not only introduces, but countenances such enthusiastic unphilosophical notions as this jargon of the astrologers is made up of.

668. *Some say, he bid his Angels &c.*] It was "eternal spring" (iv. 268.) before the fall; and he is now accounting for the change of seasons after the fall, and mentions the two famous hypotheses. *Some say* it was occasioned by altering the position of the earth, by turning the poles of the earth above 20 degrees aside from the sun's orb, "he bid his Angels turn ascance the poles of earth twice ten degrees and more from the sun's axle;" and the poles of the earth are about 23 degrees and a half distant from those of the ecliptic; "they with labour push'd oblique the centric globe," it was erect before, but is *oblique* now; the *obliquity* of a sphere is the proper astronomical term, when the pole is raised any number of degrees less than 90; *the centric globe* fixed on its centre and therefore moved *with labour* and difficulty, or rather *centric* as being the centre of the world, according to the Ptolemaic system, which our author usually follows. *Some say* again this change was occasioned by altering the course of the sun, "the sun was bid to turn reins from the equinoctial road" in which he had moved before, "like distant breadth" in both hemispheres, "to Taurus with the seven Atlantic Sisters," the constellation Taurus with the seven stars in his neck, the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas, "and the Spartan twins," the sign Gemini, Castor, and Pollux, twin-brothers, and sons of Tyndarus king of Sparta, "up to the Tropic Crab," the tropic of Cancer, the sun's farthest stage northwards; "thence down amain." Dr. Bentley reads *as much*, as much on one side of the equator as the other, but if any alteration were necessary, it is easier to read thence "down again, by Leo and the Virgin," the sign Virgo, "and the Scales," the constellation Libra, "as deep as Capricorn," the tropic of Capricorn, which is the sun's farthest progress southward. This motion of the sun in the ecliptic occasions the variety of seasons, "else had the spring perpetual smil'd on earth with vernant flowers," if the sun had continued to move in the equator. It is likewise Dr. Burnet's assertion, that the primitive earth enjoyed a perpetual spring, and for the same reason of the sun's moving in the equator. But though this notion of a perpetual spring may be very pleasing in poetry, yet it is very false in philosophy; and this position of the earth so far from being the best is one of the worst it could have, as Dr. Keill hath proved excellently well in the fourth

chapter of his *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth.*

686.—*Estotiland,*] A great tract of land in the north of America, towards the Arctic Circle and Hudson's Bay; as *Magellan* is a country in South America, which, together with its straits, took their name of Ferdinandus Magellanus, a Portuguese, who in the year 1520 first discovered them. *Hume.*

687.———*At that tasted fruit*

The sun as from Thyéstian banquet turn'd &c] Thyestes and Atreus, brethren, hated each other outrageously; the first in spite lay with the wife of Atreus, but he having gotten his brother's children in his power, pretended a desire of reconciliation, and invited him to a banquet. Thyestes, that he might see his children, dissembling his augmented malice, came; the feast being over, his brother informed him that he had been entertained with the flesh of his sons, and their blood mixed with the wine, and showed him the sad proof of what he had told him, their heads and hands, which he had reserved for that purpose. At this the sun is said to have turned away, as Milton here says he did when the more dreadful banquet was made on the fruit of the forbidden tree. *Richardson.*

699. *Boreas*] The north wind. *Cæcias* the north-west. *Argestes* the north-east. *Thrascias* blowing from Thrace northward of Greece. *Notus* the south wind. *Afer* or Africus, the south-west from Africa;

Notusque ruunt creberque procellis Africus. Virg. Æn. i. 85.

From Seirraleona or Lion Mountains; a range of mountains so called because of the perpetual storms there roaring like a lion. These are to the south-west of Africa, within a few leagues of Cape Verd, the western point. *Richardson.*

In this account of the winds is a needless ostentation of learning, and a strange mixture of ancient and modern, Latin and Italian names together. These are the foibles and weak parts of our author, and of these it may too truly be said,

Such labour'd nothings, in so strange a stile,
Amaze the unlearn'd, and make the learned smile.

720. *O miserable of happy!* &c.] The parts of Adam and Eve, or the human persons, come next under our consideration. Milton's art is no where more shown than in his conducting the parts of these our first parents. The representation he

gives of them, without falsifying the story, is wonderfully contrived to influence the reader with pity and compassion towards them. Though Adam involves the whole species in misery, his crime proceeds from a weakness which every man is inclined to pardon and commiserate, as it seems rather the frailty of human nature, than of the person who offended. Every one is apt to excuse a fault which he himself might have fallen into. It was the excess of love for Eve that ruined Adam and his posterity. I need not add, that the author is justified in this particular by many of the fathers, and the most orthodox writers. Milton has by this means filled a great part of his poem with that kind of writing which the French critics call the *tender*, and which is in a particular manner engaging to all sorts of readers. Adam and Eve, in the book we are now considering, are likewise drawn with such sentiments, as do not only interest the reader in their afflictions, but raise in him the most melting passions of humanity and commiseration. When Adam sees the several changes in nature produced about him, he appears in a disorder of mind suitable to one who had forfeited both his innocence and his happiness; he is filled with horror, remorse, despair; in the anguish of his heart he expostulates with his Creator for having given him an unasked existence.

Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
To mould me Man? *&c.*

He immediately after recovers from his presumption, owns his doom to be just, and begs that the death which is threatened him may be inflicted on him,

——————————why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fix'd on this day? *&c.*

This whole speech is full of the like emotion, and varied with all those sentiments which we may suppose natural to a mind so broken and disturbed. I must not omit that generous concern which our first father shows in it for his posterity, and which is so proper to affect the reader. Who can afterwards behold the father of mankind extended upon the earth, uttering his midnight complaints, bewailing his existence, and wishing for death, without sympathizing with him in his distress. *Addison.*

728. *All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,*
Is propagated curse.] Meat and drink propagate it by prolonging life, and children by carrying it on to posterity.

758. *Thou didst* &c.] The change of persons, sometimes speaking of himself in the first and sometimes to himself in the second, is very remarkable in this speech, as well as the change of passions. And in like manner he speaks sometimes of God and sometimes to God.

783. ——*lest all I cannot die,*] A like expression in Horace. Od. iii. xxx. 6.

Non omnis moriar.

789. ——*It was but breath*
Of life that sinn'd;] Adam is here endeavouring to prove to himself that the *breath of life (the spirit of Man which God inspir'd* into him, ver. 784.) was to die with his body; and his argument here and in what follows runs thus. Nothing *but* breath of life sinned; nothing, but what had life and sin, dies; the body properly has neither of these, and therefore he concludes that the breath of life (or spirit of man within him) was to die, and that all of him was to die, because the body he knew was mortal.

806. *By which all causes else* &c.] All other agents act in proportion to the *reception* or capacity of the matter, and not to the utmost extent of their own power. An allusion to another axiom of the schools: "Omne efficiens agit secundum vires recipientis, non suas." But this is not so bad as what Mr. Pope has objected to our author,

Milton's strong pinion now not Heav'n can bound
Now serpent-like, in prose he sweeps the ground;
In quibbles Angel and Arch-Angel join,
And God the Father turns a School-divine.

But it should be considered that this sort of divinity was much more in fashion in Milton's days; and no wonder that he was a little ostentatious of showing his reading in this, as well as in all other branches of learning.

813. ——*Ay me, that fear* &c.] This is somewhat like the famous soliloquy of Hamlet, act iii.

Ay there's the rub, &c.

——*that fear*
Comes thund'ring back with dreadful revolution
On my defenceless head;] The thought is fine as it is natu-

ral. The sinner may invent never so many arguments in favour of the annihilation and utter extinction of the soul; but but after all his subterfuges and evasions, the fear of a future state and the dread of everlasting punishment will still pursue him: he may put it off for a time, but it will return *with dreadful revolution*; and let him affect what serenity and gaiety he pleases, will notwithstanding, in the midst of it all, *come thundering back on his defenceless head*.

816. ——————*and incorporate both*,] Lodged both together in one mortal body, as St. Paul says, Rom. vii. 24. *Oh wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?*

817. *Nor I in my part single, in me all*
Posterity stands curs'd:] And this curse was the *patrimony* which he was to leave his sons.

835. ——*heavier than the earth to bear*,
Than all the world much heavier,] We quote this only that the reader may observe the beautiful turn of the words, *heavier* the first in one line and the last in the other: and that *much* is well thrown in, and raises the sense greatly; the *burden* is not only *heavier than the earth to bear*, it is *heavier than all the world*, nay it is *much heavier*.

840. *Beyond all past example and future*,] As Adam is here speaking in great agonies of mind, he aggravates his own misery, and concludes it to be greater and worse than that of the fallen Angels or all future men, as having in himself alone the source of misery for all his posterity, whereas both Angels and Men had only their own to bear. Satan was only like him, as being the ring-leader, and this added very much to his remorse, as we read in i. 605. The accent upon the word *future* is indeed very uncommon, but it is the Latin accent, and there is a like instance in Fairfax's Tasso.

846. *Through the still night*,] We can hardly suppose this to be the night immediately after the fall; for *that night* Satan overheard Adam and Eve discoursing together, ver, 341.

——————————return'd
By night, and list'ning where the hapless pair
Sat in their sad discourse, and various plaint,
Thence gather'd his own doom;

and the next morning, *while the sun in Aries rose*, ver. 329, he

met Sin and Death in their way to earth; they discourse together, and it was after Sin and Death were arrived in Paradise, that the Almighty made that speech from ver. 616 to ver. 641, and after that the Angels are ordered to make the changes in nature: so that this, we conceive, must be some other night than that immediately after the fall.

863. *Whom thus afflicted when sad Eve beheld,* &c.] The part of Eve in this book is no less passionate and apt to sway the reader in her favour. She is represented with great tenderness as approaching Adam, but is spurned from him with a spirit of upbraiding and indignation, conformable to the nature of Man, whose passions had now gained the dominion over him. The following passage, wherein she is described as renewing her addresses to him, with the whole speech that follows it, have something in them exquisitely moving and pathetic:

He added not, and from her turn'd; but Eve &c.

Adam's reconcilement to her is worked up in the same spirit of tenderness. Eve afterwards proposes to her husband, in the blindness of her despair, that to prevent their guilt from descending upon posterity they should resolve to live childless; or if that could not be done, they should seek their own deaths by violent methods. As those sentiments naturally engage the reader to regard the mother of mankind with more than ordinary commiseration, they likewise contain a very fine moral. The resolution of dying to end our miseries, does not show such a degree of magnanimity as a resolution to bear them, and submit to the dispensations of Providence. Our author has, therefore, with great delicacy represented Eve as entertaining this thought, and Adam as disapproving it. *Addison,*

888. *To my just number found.*] The *just number* of ribs in a man is twenty-four, twelve on each side, though sometimes there have been found those who have had thirteen as Galen says, and very rarely some that have had but eleven, as Tho. Bartholinus, a famous physician, observed, in a lusty strong man whom he dissected in the year 1657, who had but eleven on one side, and a small appearance of a twelfth on the other. Hist. Anatom. & Medic. Centur. 5. c. 1. But some writers have been of opinion that Adam had thirteen ribs on the left side, and that out of the thirteenth rib God formed Eve: and it is to this opinion that Milton here alludes, and makes Adam

say, It was *well* if this rib was *thrown out as supernumerary to his just number.*

888.——*O why did God*, &c.] This thought was originally of Euripides, who makes Hippolytus in like manner expostulate with Jupiter for not creating man without woman. See Hippol. 616. And Jason is made to talk in the same strain in Medea, 573. And such sentiments as these, we suppose, procured Euripides the name of the Woman-hater. Nor are similar examples wanting among our English authors. Sir Thomas Brown, in the second part of his *Religio Medici*. sect. 9, has something very curious to this purpose, which no doubt Milton had read, that work having been first published in the year 1642, about twenty-five years before Paradise Lost. Shakespear makes Posthumus cry out in resentment of Imogen's behaviour, Cymbeline, act ii. which we are sure that our author had read,

Is there no way for men to be, but women
Must be half-workers?

898.——— ——— ———*for either*

He never shall find out fit mate, &c.] I have often thought it was great pity that Adam's speech had not ended where these lines begin. The sense is quite complete without them; and they seem much fitter for a digressional observation of the author, such as his panegyric on marriage, *&c.* than to be put into the mouth of Adam, who could not very naturally be supposed at that time to foresee so very circumstantially the inconveniences attending our *strait conjunction with this sex*, as he expresses it. *Thyer.*

940.———*soon his heart relented*] This seems to have been drawn from a domestic scene. Milton's wife soon after marriage went to visit her friends in Oxfordshire, and refused to return at the time appointed: he often solicited her, but in vain: she declared her resolution not to cohabit with him any more. Upon this he wrote his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, and to show that he was in earnest was actually treating about a second marriage, when the wife contrived to meet him at a friend's whom he often visited, and there fell prostrate before him, imploring forgiveness and reconciliation. It is not to be doubted (says Mr. Fenton) but an interview of that nature, so little expected, must wonderfully affect him: and per-

haps the impressions it made on his imagination contributed much to the painting of that pathetic scene in Paradise Lost, in which Eve addresseth herself to Adam for pardon and peace. At the intercession of his friends, who were present, after a short reluctance, he generously sacrificed all his resentment to her tears:

——soon his heart relented
Tow'ards her, his life so late and sole delight,
Now at his feet submissive in distress.

978. *As in our evils,*] That is considering the excess of evil to which we are reduced; an elegant Latin use of the word *as*. Cic. Epist. Fam. iv. 9. "Nam adhuc, et factum tuum probatur, et, *ut in tali re*, etiam fortuna lauditur, xii. 2. Non nihil, *ut in tantis malis*, est profectum," that is, considering our ill situation.

989. *Childless thou art, childless remain:*] It is a strange mistake in some editions, and especially in Milton's own, where this imperfect verse is printed as a whole verse, and the words *so Death* wanting to complete the line are added to the next line, which is thereby made as much too long as this is too short. *So Death shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two.*

1007. *She ended here*——
——*so much of death her thoughts*
Had entertain'd as dy'd her cheeks with pale.] Virg. Æn. iv. 499.

Hæc effata silet: pallor simul occupat ora.
——maculisque trementes
Interfusa genas, et pallida morte futurâ. Æn. iv. 644.

1011.——*his more attentive mind*] Attending more to what had passed, *calling to mind with heed* their *sentence*, as in ver. 1030.

1024. *To be forestall'd*;] This word appears too low for heroic poetry: it might not be so trite and vulgar formerly; for Fairfax likewise uses it in his Jerusalem, Cant. 15. St. 47.

But forth there crept (from whence I cannot say)
An ugly serpent, which *forestall'd* their way.

1071.——*with matter sere foment,*] *Sere* dry: according to Virgil's exact description, Æn. i. 175.

Suscepitque ignem foliis, atque arida circum
Nutrimenta dedit, rapuitque in fomite flammam.

1072. *Or by collision of two bodies grind*

The air aterise to fire, as late the clouds &c.] Our poet had Lucretius here in mind, and plainly alludes to his account of the origin of fire, v. 1091.

Now for the rise of fire: Swift thunder thrown
From broken sulphurous cloude first brought it down;
For many things take fire: when lightning flies,
And sulphurous vapours fill the lower skies, &c. *Creech.*

1075. *Tine the slant lightning,*] To *tine* is derived from the Saxon *tynan* to light, to kindle; from whence also we have the word *tinder*.

BOOK XI.

1. *Thus they in lowest plight* &c.] MILTON has shown a wonderful art in describing that variety of passions, which arise in our first parents upon the breach of the commandment that had been given them. We see them gradually passing from the triumph of their guilt through remorse, shame, despair, contrition, prayer and hope, to a perfect and complete repentance. At the end of the tenth book they are represented as prostrating themselves upon the ground, and watering the earth with their tears: to which the poet joins this beautiful circumstance, that they offered up their penetential prayers on the very place where their judge appeared to them when he pronounced their sentence. There is a beauty of the same kind in a tragedy of Sophocles, where Œdipus, after having put out his own eyes, instead of breaking his neck from the palace-battlements (which furnishes so elegant an entertainment for our English audience) desires that he may be conducted to mount Cithæron, in order to end his life in that very place where he was exposed in his infancy, and where he should then have died, had the will of his parents been executed. As the author never fails to give a poetical turn to his sentiments, he describes in the beginning of this book the acceptance which these their prayers met with, in a short allegory formed upon that beautiful passage in holy Writ: (Rev. viii. 3. 4.) "And another Angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne: and the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God." We have the same thought expressed a second time in the intercession of the Messiah, which is conceived in very emphatic sentimentsand expressions. *Addison.*

5.——*that sighs now breath'd*
Unutterable,] That sighs inexpressible burst forth, which God's Holy Spirit, the spirit of supplication and intercession, breathed into them, and wafted up to Heaven with nimblest speed.

8. *yet their port* &c.] This *yet* refers so far back as to line the first, "Thus they in lowest plight repentant stood praying, yet their port not of mean suiters," all the intermediate lines being to be understood as in a parenthesis. "Nor did their petition seem of less importance, than when the ancient pair" so renowned "in old fables, yet not so ancient a pair as Adam and Eve, Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha," in order "to restore the race of mankind after the deluge, stood devoutly praying before the shrine of Themis" the Goddess of justice, who had the most famous oracle of those days. The poet could not have thought of a more apt similitude to illustrate his subject, and he has plainly fetched it from Ovid, Met. i. 318.

High on the summit of this dubious cliff,
Deucalion wafting, moor'd his little skiff.
He with his wife were only left behind
Of perish'd man; they two were human kind.
The Mountain-Nymphs, and Themis they adore,
And from her oracles relief implore.
The most upright of mortal men was he,
The most sincere and holy woman she.——
O righteous Themis, if the pow'rs above
By pray'rs are bent to pity and to love;
If human miseries can move their mind;
If yet they can forgive, and yet be kind;
Tell how we may restore, by second birth,
Mankind, and people desolated earth. *Dryden.*

Milton has been often censured for his frequent allusions to the Heathen mythology, and for mixing fables with sacred truths: but it may be observed in favour of him, that what he borrows from the Heathen mythology, he commonly applies only by way of similitude; and a similitude from thence may illustrate his subject as well as from any thing else.

19.—*came in sight* &c.] Milton in this allegorical description of the repentant prayers of our first parents, very much exceeds the two great masters of Italian poetry, Ariosto and

Tasso, who have attempted something in the same way. See Carlomagno's prayer in the former, Cant. 14. St. 73 and 74; and in the latter, Raimond's prayer, Cant. 7. St. 79; and Godfrey's, Cant. 13. St. 72.

38. *The smell of peace tow'ard mankind*;] The peace offering is frequently called *an offering of a sweet savour unto the Lord.* So Levit. iii. 5. *Heylin.*

44. *Made one with me as I with thee am one.*] "That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee: and the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one." John xvii. 21, 22.

74. *His trumpet heard in Oreb since perhaps* &c.] For the law was given on mount Oreb with *the noise of the trumpet*, Exod. xx. 18, and at the general judgment, according to St. Paul, 1 Thess. iv. 16, "The Lord shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Arch-Angel, and with the trump of God."

78. *Of amarantine shade,*] See iii. 353, and the note there.

82. *And took their seats*;] Dr. Bentley says that if the poet gave it thus, he had forgot himself; for he never makes the Angels to *sit* round the throne of God: But if he never did elsewhere, he has authority for doing so here. I know that it is a maxim with the schoolmen, *Sola sedit Trinitas*, that only the three persons in the Trinity *sit*: but this is contrary to Scripture; for in Rev. iv. 4, and xi. 16, the four and twenty elders are described as *sitting on seats round about the throne.* There is no occasion then to read with the Doctor *and took their stand*: especially when it is considered that the idea of *taking* suits so much better with *seats* than *stand.* *Pearce.*

The Angels are generally represented to be standing, or falling down before the throne of God; because they are generally employed there in acts of praise and adoration. But here they are introduced in another character, called to synod, like a grand council, or to be as it were *assessors* with the Almighty, when he was to pronounce his decree on fallen man: and therefore the poet very properly says, *they took their seats.* And thus our Saviour tells the Apostles, *they shall sit on twelve thrones* as his assessors, *judging the twelve tribes of Israel.* Mat. xix. 28. *Greenwood.*

84. *O Sons* &c.] The assembling of all the Angels of Hea-

ven, to hear the solemn decree passed upon Man, is represented in very lively ideas. The Almighty is here described as remembering mercy in the midst of judgment, and commanding Michael to deliver his message in the mildest terms, lest the spirit of Man, which was already broken with the sense of his guilt and misery, should fail before him. *Addison.*

This whole speech is founded upon the following passage in Genesis iii. 22, 23, 24. "And the Lord God said, Behold the Man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: And now lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever; Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man: and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims and a flaming sword, which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life."

86. *Of that defended fruit*;] Forbidden fruit, from *defendre* (French) to forbid.

99. *Michael, this my behest have thou in charge,*] Our author has with great judgment singled out *Michael* to receive this charge. It would not have been so proper for the *sociable spirit Raphael* to have executed this order: but as Michael was the principal Angel employed in driving the rebel Angels out of Heaven, so he was the most proper to expel our first parents too out of Paradise.

111. *Bewailing their excess,*] God is here represented as pitying our first parents, and even while he is ordering Michael to drive them out of Paradise, orders him at the same time *to hide all terror*; and for the same reason he chooses to speak of their offence in the softest manner, calling it only an *excess*, a going beyond the bounds of their duty, by the same metaphor as sin is often called *transgression.*

128——*four faces each* &c.] Among the poetical parts of Scripture, which Milton has so finely wrought into this part of his narration, I must not omit that wherein Ezekiel speaking of the Angels who appeared to him in vision, adds that "every one had four faces," and that "their whole bodies, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about. *Addison.*

135. *Leucothea wak'd,*] The *White Goddess*, as the name in Greek imports, the same with *Matuta* in Latin, as Cicero

says, "Lucothea nominata a Græcis, Matuta habetur a nostris." Tusc. i. 12. "Quæ Lucothæa a Græcis, a nobis Matuta dicitur." De Nat. Deor. iii. 19. And *Matuta* is the early morning that ushers in the Aurora rosy with the sun-beams, according to Lucretius, v. 655.

Tempore item certo roseam Matuta per oras
Ætheris Auroram defert et lumina pandit.

And from *Matuta* is derived *Matutinus*, early in the morning. This is the last morning in the poem, the morning of the fatal day in which our first parents were expelled out of Paradise. It is impossible to say how much time is taken up in the action of this poem. Mr. Addison reckons only *ten* days, that is, he supposes that our first parents were expelled out of Paradise the very next day after the fall. The author, we think, is not very exact in the computation of time, and perhaps he affected some obscurity in this particlar, and did not choose to define, as the Scripture itself has not defined, how soon after the fall it was that our first parents were driven out of Paradise.

157. *Assures me that the bitterness of death*
Is past,] Adam is made to talk in the language of Agag, 1 Sam. xv. 32. "And Agag said, Surely the bitterness of death is past."

159. *Eve rightly call'd mother of all mankind*,] Gen. iii. 20. "And Adam called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all living." He called her before Ishah, *Woman, because she was taken out of* Ish, *Man*, Gen. ii. 23.

—Woman is her name, of Man
Extracted———

as it is expressed viii. 496. But now he denominates her *Eve* or Havah from a Hebrew word which signifies to *live*, in firm belief that God would make her the mother of all mankind, and of the promised Seed particularly. Our poet had called her Eve before by way of anticipation.

175. *Her rosy progress smiling*;] This may serve to confirm what we observed before, that *Leucothea* is the most early morning, that ushers in the Aurora; she was pale and *white* before, but now she is *rosy* red, with the nearer approach of the sun-beams, agreeably to the quotation that we made above from Lucretius. And the expression of the morn's *beginning her progress* seems to be copied from Shakespear, 1 Henry iv. Act ii.

—the heav'nly-harness'd team
Begins his golden *progress* in the east.

181. *So spake*, &c.] The conference of Adam and Eve is full of moving sentiments. Upon their going abroad after the melancholy night which they had passed together, they discover the lion and the eagle pursuing each of them their prey towards the eastern gate of Paradise. There is a double beauty in this incident, not only as it presents great and just omens, which are always agreeable in poetry, but as it expresses that enmity which was now produced in the animal creation. The poet, to shew the like changes in nature, as well as to grace his fable with a noble prodigy, represents the sun in an eclipse. This particular incident has likewise a fine effect upon the imagination of the reader, in regard to what follows; for at the same time that the sun is under an eclipse, a bright cloud descends in the western quarter of the Heavens, filled with an host of Angels, and more luminous than the sun itself. The whole theatre of nature is darkened, that this glorious machine may appear in all its lustre and magnificence. *Addison.*

204. *Darkness ere day's mid-course*,]
Et noctis faciem nebulas fecisse volucres
Sub nitido mirata die. Ov. Met. i. 602.

204.———*and morning light* &c.] I think it would not be amiss to refer the curious reader to Marino's description of the descent of the three Goddesses upon mount Ida, C. 2. St. 67. which is a scene of the same sort with this, and painted, I think, even in livelier colours than this of Milton. *Thyer.*

213. *Not that more glorious*, &c.] That was not a more glorious apparition of Angels, which appeared to Jacob in Mahanaim, Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. "And Jacob went on his way, and the Angels of God met him: And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God's host; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim." Nor that which appeared on the flaming mount in Dothan against the king of Syria, when he levied war against a single man, not like a generous enemy, but like a base assassin endeavoured to take him by surprise, namely Elisha, for having disclosed the designs of the king of Syria to the king of Israel, 2 Kings vi. 13, *&c.* "And it was told him, saying, Behold he is in Dothan. Therefore sent he thither horses, and chariots, and a great host: and they came by night and

compassed the city about. And when the servant of the man of God was risen early, and gone forth, behold an host compassed the city both with horses and chariots: and his servant said unto him, Alas, my master, how shall we do? And he answered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. And Elisha prayed and said, Lord, I pray thee, open his eyes that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw: and behold, the mountain was full of horses, and chariots of fire round about Elisha."

220. *War unproclaim'd.*] The severe censure on this makes me fancy that Milton hinted at the war with Holland, which broke out in 1664, when we surprised and took the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, before war was proclaimed, which the Whigs much exclaimed against. *Warburton.*

238.—*th' Arch-Angel soon drew nigh*, &c.] I need not observe how properly this author, who always suits his parts to the actors whom he introduces, has employed Michael in the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise. The Arch-Angel on this occasion neither appears in his proper shape, nor in that familiar manner with which Raphael the sociable Spirit entertained the father of mankind before the fall. His person, his post, and behaviour are suitable to a Spirit of the highest rank, and exquisitely described in the following passage. *Addison.*

242. *Livelier than Melibœan,*] Of a livelier colour and richer dye than any made at *Melibœa*, a city of Thessaly, famous for a fish called *ostrum*, there caught and used in dying the noblest purple.

244.—*Iris had dipt the woof*;] A most poetical expression. He had said before, that it was livelier than the Melibœan grain, or than that of Sarra; it excelled the most precious purple: but now he says that *Iris* herself had given the colour, the most beautiful colours being in the rainbow.

261. *And send thee from the garden forth to till*
The ground whence thou wast taken, fitter soil.] It is after the manner of Homer, that the Angel is here made to deliver the order he had received in the very words he had received it. Homer's exactness is so great in this kind, that sometimes I I know not whether it is not rather a fault. He observes this method not only when orders are given by a superior power,

but also when messages are sent between equals. But in the passage before us, there is all the beauty and simplicity of Homer, without any of his faults. Here are only two lines repeated out of one speech, and a third out of another; ver. 48, and here again ver. 259.

But longer in this Paradise to dwell.

And it is a decree pronounced solemnly by the Almighty, and certainly it would not have become the Angel, who was sent to put it in execution, to deliver it in any other words than those of the Almighty. And let me add, that it was the more proper and necessary to repeat the words in this place, as the catastrophe of the poem depends so much upon them, and by them the fate of Man is determined, and *Paradise* is *lost*.

263. *He added not, for Adam at the news* &c.] How naturally and justly does Milton here describe the different effects of grief upon our first parents! Mr. Addison has already remarked upon the beauty and propriety of Eve's complaint, but I think there is an additional beauty to be observed when one considers the fine contrast which there is betwixt that and Adam's sorrow, which was silent and thoughtful, as Eve's was loud and hasty, both consistent with the different characters of the sexes, which Milton has indeed kept up with great exactness through the whole poem. *Thyer.*

268. *O unexpected stroke,* &c.] Eve's complaint upon hearing that she was to be removed from the garden of Paradise, is wonderfully beautiful: the sentiments are not only proper to the subject, but have something in them particularly soft and womanish. *Addison.*

296. *Celestial, whether* &c.] Adam's speech abounds with thoughts, which are equally moving, but of a more masculine and elevated turn. Nothing can be conceived more sublime and poetical than the following passage in it.

This most afflicts me, that departing hence &c. *Addison.*

There is the same propriety in these speeches of Adam and Eve, as the critics have observed in the speeches of Priam and Hecuba to dissuade Hector from fighting with Achilles in the twenty-second book of the Iliad, where the sentiments are excellently adapted to the different characters of the father and mother. And this, says Mr. Pope, puts me in mind of a judicious stroke in Milton, with regard to the several characters

of Adam and Eve. When the Angel is driving them both out of Paradise, Adam grieves that he must leave a place where he had conversed with God and his Angels; but Eve laments that she shall never more behold the fine flowers of Eden: Here Adam mourns like a man, and Eve like a woman.

366. ——— *Ascend*
This hill;] The Angel afterwards leads Adam to the highest mount of Paradise, and lays before him a whole hemisphere, as a proper stage for those visions which were to be represented on it. I have before observed how the plan of Milton's poem is in many particulars greater than that of the Iliad or Æneid. Virgil's hero, in the last of these poems, is entertained with a sight of all those who are to descend from him; but though that episode is justly admired as one of the noblest designs in the whole Æneid, every one must allow that this of Milton is of a much higher nature. Adam's vision is not confined to any particular tribe of mankind, but extends to the whole species. *Addison.*

367. —*let Eve (for I have drench'd her eyes)*
Here sleep below,] It may be asked why Eve was not permitted to see this vision, as she had no less occasion than Adam, *thereby to learn true patience*; but Milton here only continues the same decorum which he had before observed, when he made Eve retire upon Raphael's beginning his conference with Adam, book viii. Besides the tenderness of the female mind could not be supposed able to bear the shocking scenes, which were going to be represented.

374. ——————— *to overcome*
By suffering,] Virg. Æn. v. 710.
Quicquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.

381. *Not higher that hill* &c] That hill was not higher, whereon the devil set our Saviour (*the second man*, 1 Cor. xv. 47; *the last Adam*, ver. 45.) to "show him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them. Matth. iv. 8. The prospects are well compared together, and the first thought of the one might probably be taken from the other: and as the one makes part of the subject of Paradise Lost, so doth the other of Paradise Regain'd.

387. ——— *from the destin'd walls*
Of Cambalu, &c.] He first takes a view of Asia, and there

of the northern parts, *the destin'd walls* not yet in being but designed to be (which is to be understood of all the rest) *of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can*, the principal city of Cathay, a province of Tartary, the ancient seat of the Chams, *and Samarchand by Oxus*, the chief city of Zagathaian Tartary near the river Oxis, *Temir's throne*, the birth place and royal residence of Tamerlane; and from the northern he passes to the eastern and southern parts of Asia, *to Paquin* or Pekin *of Sinæan kings*, the capital of China, the country of the ancient Sinæ mentioned by Ptolemy, *and thene to Agra and Labor*, two great cities in the empire *of the great Mogul, down to the golden Chersonese*, that is Malacca, the most southern promontory of the East-Indies, so called on account of its riches, to distinguish it from the other Chersoneses or peninsula's, *or where the Persian in Ecbatan sat*, Ecbatana formerly the capital city of Persia, *or since in Hispahan*, the capital city at present, *or where the Russian Ksar*, the Csar of Muscovy, *in Moscow*, then the metropolis of all Russia, *or the Sultan in Bizance*, the Grand Signior in Constantinople, formerly Byzantium, *Turchestan-born*, as the Turks came from Turchestan, a province of Tartary. He passes now into Africa; *nor could his eye not ken th' empire of Negus*, the upper Ethiopia or the land of the Abyssinians, subject to one sovereign, stiled in their own language *Negus* or king, and by the Europeans Prestor John, *to his utmost port Ercoco*, or Erquico on the Red Sea, the north-east boundary of the Abyssinian empire, *and the less maritime kings*, the lesser kingdoms on the sea coast, *Mombaza and Quilola, and Melind*, all near the line in Zanguebar, a great region of the lower Ethiopia on the eastern or Indian sea, and subject to the Portuguese, *and Sofala thought Ophir*, another kingdom and city on the same sea, mistaken by Purchas and others for Ophir, whence Solomon brought gold *to the realm of Congo*, a kingdom in the lower Ethiopia on the western shore, as the others were on the eastern, *and Angola farthest south*, another kingdom south of Congo; *Or thence from Niger flood*, the river Niger that divides Negroland into two parts, to *Atlas mount* in the most western parts of Africa, *the kingdoms of Almansor*, the countries over which *Almansor* was king, namely *Fez* and *Sus*, *Morocco and Algiers, and Tremesen*, all kingdoms in Barbary. After Africa he comes to Europe, *On*

Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway the world: the less is said of Europe as it is so well known. *In spirit perhaps he also saw,* he could not see it otherwise, as America was on the opposite side of the globe, *rich Mexico* in North America *the seat of Montezume,* who was subdued by the Spanish general Cortes, *and Cusco in Peru* in South America, *the richer seat of Atabalipa,* the last emperor subdued by the Spanish general Pizarro, *and yet unspoil'd Guiana,* another country of South America not then invaded and spoiled, *whose great city,* namely Manhoa, *Geryon's sons,* the Spaniards from Geryon, an ancient king of Spain, *call El Dorado,* or the golden city, on account of its richness and extent. And thus he surveys the four different parts of the world, but it must be confessed, more with an ostentation of learning, than with any additional beauty to the poem.

411.——*but to nobler sights*

Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,] These which follow are *nobler sights,* being not only of cities and kingdoms, but of the principal actions of men to the final consummation of things. And to prepare Adam for these sights the Angel *remov'd the film from his eyes,* as Pallas removed the mist from Diomedes his eyes, Iliad v. 127.

Yet more, from mortal mists I purge thy eyes,
And set to view the warring Deities. *Pope.*

And as Venus did likewise from those of Æneas, Æn. ii. 604.

Now cast your eyes around; while I dissolve
The mists and films that mortal eyes involve,
Purge from your sight the dross, and make you see
The shape of each avenging Deity. *Dryden.*

414.—*purg'd with euphrasy and rue*] Cleared the organs of his sight with *rue* and *euphrasy* or *eye-bright,* so named from its clearing virtue. *Hume.*

429. *His eyes he open'd and beheld a field,* &c.] In this great review which Adam takes of all his sons and daughters, the first objects he is presented with exhibit to him the story of Cain and Abel, which is drawn together with much closeness and propriety of expression. That curiosity and natural horror, which arises in Adam at the sight of the first dying man, is touched with great beauty. *Addison.*

434. *A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought* &c.] It may

be proper to compare this account with the sacred history, to which it alludes, Gen. iv. 2. &c. "And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, an offering to the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof." The Scripture says only "The Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering; but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect." "And Cain was very wroth—And Cain talked with Abel his brother, and it came to pass when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him." This is very properly made the first vision, and is so much enlarged upon, as it is of Adam's immediate descendants.

458.——— *and th' other's faith approv'd*] It was, according to the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, who bears this testimony to it, xi. 4. "By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts; and by it he being dead, yet speaketh."

477.—*Immediately a place* &c.] The second vision sets before him the image of death in a great variety of appearances. The Angel, to give him a general idea of those effects which his guilt had brought upon his posterity, places before him a large hospital or lazar-house, filled with persons lying under all kinds of mortal diseases. How finely has the poet told us that the sick persons languished under lingering and incurable distempers, by an apt and judicious use of such imaginary beings as those I mentioned in my last paper! The passion, which likewise rises in Adam on this occasion, is very natural. The discourse between the Angel and Adam which follows, abounds with noble morals. *Addison.*

487. *Marasmus,*] The word is Greek, and it signifies a kind of consumption, accompanied with a fever wasting the body by degrees.

489. *Dire was the tossing, deep the groans; Despair* &c.] This is intirely in the picturesque manner of Spenser, and seems to allude particularly to that beautiful passage, where describing the way to *Pluto's grisly reign*, he represents Pain, Strife, Revenge, *&c.* as so many persons assembled, and over them sat Horror soaring with grim hue, and beating his iron

wings. Faery Queen, book ii. cant. 7. st. 21. to 24.

By that way's side there sat infernal Pain, &c. *Thyer.* The breaks and pauses in this verse are admirable; and this beauty is improved by each period's beginning with the same letter *d*.

*D*ire was the tossing, *d*eep the groans; *D*espair

495. ——————*Adam wept*

Though not of woman born; compassion quell'd

His best of man, and gave him up to tears] This thought (as Mr. Whalley observes) is certainly from Shakespear, whose words Milton has preserved at the close of the sentence.

I had not so much of man about me,
But all my mother came into my eyes,
And gave me up to tears. Henry v. act iv.

517. *To serve ungovern'd appetite,*] Appetite here is made a person: *and took his image whom they serv'd,* that is ungoverned appetite's, *a brutish vice,* that was the principal occasion of the sin of *Eve, inductive mainly to the sin of Eve.* How different is this image of God's image, when (as we read in iv. 291.)

——in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker shone,
Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure!

531. *The rule of not too much,*] Ne quid nimis.

537. *Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd, for death mature:*] He seems to have had in mind this passage of Cicero de Senect. 19, "Et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sint, vi avelluntur; si matura et cocta, decidunt: sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas."

538. *But then thou must outlive* &c.] There is something very just and poetical in this description of the miseries of old age, so finely contrasted as they are with the opposite pleasures of youth. It is indeed short, but vastly expressive, and I think ought to excite the pity as well as the admiration of the reader; since the poor poet is here no doubt describing what he felt at the time he wrote it, being then in the decline of life, and troubled with various infirmities. *Thyer.*

554. ——*permit to Heaven:*] Permitte Divis. Hor. Od. i. ix. 9.

556. *He look'd and saw a spacious plain,* &c.] As there is

nothing more delightful in poetry than a contrast and opposition of incidents, the author after this melancholy prospect of death and sickness, raises up a scene of mirth, love, and jollity. The secret pleasure that steals into Adam's heart, as he is intent upon this vision, is imagined with great delicacy. I must not omit the description of the loose female troop, who seduced the sons of God, as they are called in Scripture.

For that fair female troop thou saw'st, &c. *Addison.*

557. *Were tents of various hue*; &c.] These were the tents of the posterity of Cain, as the author himself afterwards instructs us; "by some were herds of cattle grazing; these belonged to Jabal, he was the father of such as dwell in tents and of such as have cattle." Gen. iv. 20. "Others, whence the sound was heard of harp and organ; these belonged to Jubal, he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ." Gen. iv. 21. "In other part stood one at the forge, this was Tubal-Cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." Gen. iv. 22. Milton is more particular in this description, as he was himself a lover of music, and a performer upon the organ.

573. *Fusil or grav'n*] By melting or carving. *Hume*

573.——*After these*,] As being the descendants of the younger brother, *but on the hither side*, Cain having been banished into a more distant country, *a different sort*, the posterity of Seth wholly different from that of Cain, *from the high neighb'ring hills which was their seat*, having their habitation in the mountains near Paradise, *down to the plain descended*, where the Cainites dwelt: *by their guise just men they seem'd, and all their study bent to worship God aright*, the Scripture itself speaks of them as the worshippers of the true God, *and know his works not hid*, and Josephus and other writers inform us that they were addicted to the study of natural philosophy, and especially of astronomy, nor was it their last care and study to know those things which might preserve *freedom and peace to men*. Though this account of the Sethites be in the general agreeable to Scripture, yet the particulars of their living in the mountains near Paradise, and of their descending thence into the plain, and their corrupting themselves in that manner with the daughters of Cain, our author seems to have taken from the oriental writers, and particularly from the Annals of Eutichius.

582. *A bevy of fair women,*] A *bevy* is a company, of the Italian *beva* (says Hume) a covey of partridges.

621. *To these that sober race of men,* &c.] As we read in Gen. vi. 2. "The sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose." It is now generally agreed that this passage is to be understood of the sons of Seth, the worshippers of the true God making matches with the idolatrous daughters of wicked Cain; and Milton very rightly puts this construction upon it here, though elsewhere he seems to give into the old exploded conceit of the Angels becoming enamoured with the daughters of men. See iii. 463, and the note there, and likewise v. 447. and Parad. Reg. ii. 178, *&c.*

638. *He look'd, and saw wide territory spread* &c.] The next vision is of a quite contrary nature, and filled with the horrors of war. Adam at the sight of it melts into tears, and breaks out into that passionate speech,

——O what are these,
Death's ministers, not men *&c. Addison.*

642.—*emprise*;] An old word for enterprise. It is used in the Mask.

660. *In other part the scepter'd heralds call* &c.] It may be noted here once for all, that in this visionary part Milton has frequently had his eye upon Homer, and several of the images which are represented to Adam are copies of the descriptions on the shield of Achilles, Iliad xviii.

His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field,
Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves
New reap'd, the other part sheep-walks and folds.

Is not this Homer's description a little contracted? ver. 550, *&c.*

Another field rose high with waving grain;
With bended sickles stand the reaper train.
Here stretch'd in ranks the level'd swarths are found,
Sheaves heap'd on sheaves, here thicken up the ground.
Pope. And ver. 587, &c.

Next this, the eye the art of Vulcan leads
Deep through fair forests, and a length of meads;
And stalls and folds, and scatter'd cots between,
And fleecy flocks that whiten all the scene.

The vision of marriages.

They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke,
Hymen, then first to marriage rites invok'd:
With feast and music all the tents resound.

Is it not a most beautiful and exact copy of Homer? ver. 491, &c.

Here sacred pomp, and genial feast delight,
And solemn dance, and hymenæal rite;
Along the street the new made brides are led,
With torches flaming to the nuptial bed:
The youthful dancers in a circle bound
To the soft flute, and cittern's silver sound.

And in like manner the driving away of the sheep and oxen from forage, and the battle which thereupon ensues, may be compared with the following passage in Homer: ver. 527, &c.

In arms the glitt'ring squadron rising round,
Rush sudden; hills of slaughter heap the ground,
Whole flocks and herds lie bleeding on the plains,
And, all amidst them, dead, the shepherd swains.
The bellowing oxen the besiegers hear,
They rise, take horse, approach, and reach the war;
They fight, they fall, beside the silver flood,
The waving silver seem'd to blush with blood.

The description of the shield of Achilles is certainly one of the finest peices of poetry in the whole Iliad, and our author has plainly shown his admiration and affection for it by borrowing so many scenes and images from it: but I think we may say that they do not, like other copies, fall short of the originals, but generally exceed them, and receive this additional beauty, that they are most of them made representations of real histories and matters of fact.

661. *To council in the city gates*:] For there assemblies were anciently held, and the judges used to sit, Gen. xxxiv. 20; Deut. xvi. 18; xxi. 19; Zech. viii. 16.

665. *Of middle age one rising*,] Enoch said to be *of middle age*, because he was translated when he was but 365 years old; a middle age then. Gen. v. 23. *Richardson.*

688. *Such were these giants, men of high renown*;] Gen. vi. 4. "There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the same became

mighty men, which were of old, men of renown."

700. *But he the sev'nth from thee,*] Jude 14. "And Enoch also the seventh from Adam," &c.

712. *He look'd and saw the face of things quite chang'd;*] Milton, to keep up an agreeable variety in his visions, after having raised in the mind of his reader the several ideas of terror which are conformable to the description of war, passes on to those softer images of triumphs and festivals, in that vision of lewdness and luxury, which ushers in the flood. *Addison.*

723. ——————————*preach'd*
Conversion and repentance, as to souls
In prison] This account of Noah's preaching is founded chiefly upon St. Peter, 2 Pet. ii. 5. "Noah, a preacher of righteousness," and 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. "By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometimes were disobedient, when once the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah:" As what follows of Noah's desisting when he found his preaching ineffectual, and removing into another country, is taken from Josephus, Antiq. lib. i. c. iii.

730. *Measur'd by cubit, length, and breadth, and heighth.*] The dimensions of the ark are given Gen. vi. 15. "The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the heighth of it thirty cubits." A cubit is the measure from the elbow to the fingers ends, and is reckoned a foot and a half.

731. *Smear'd round with pitch, and in the side a door* &c.] Gen. vi, 14. "Thou shalt pitch it within and without with pitch; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof:" ver. 16. "And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee and for them."

735. *Cume sev'ns, and pairs,*] *Sevens* of clean creatures, and pairs of unclean. For this and other particulars here mentioned, See Gen. vii.

738. *Mean while the south-wind rose,* &c.] As it is visible that the poet had his eye upon Ovid's account of the universal deluge, the reader may observe with how much judgment he he has avoided every thing that is redundant or puerile in the Latin poet. We do not see here the wolf swimming among the sheep, nor any of those wanton imaginations, which Sene-

ca found fault with, as unbecoming the great catastrophe of nature. If our poet has imitated that verse in which Ovid tells us that there was nothing but sea, and that this sea had no shore to it, he has not set the thought in such a light as to incur the censure which critics have passed upon it The latter part of that verse in Ovid is idle and superfluous, but just and beautiful in Milton:

Jamque mare et tellus nullum discrimen habebant,
Nil Nisi pontus erat, deerant quoque littora ponto.

——— ———Sea cover'd sea
Sea without shore.———

In Milton the former part of the description does not anticipate the latter. How much more great and solemn on this occasion is that which follows in our English poet,

———and in their palaces
Where luxury late reign'd, sea-monsters whelp'd
And stabled———

than that in Ovid, where we are told that the sea calves lay in those places where the goats were used to browze. The sky's being overcharged with clouds, the descending of the rains, the rising of the seas, and the appearance of the rainbow, are such descriptions as every one must take notice of. The circumstance relating to Paradise is so finely imagined, and suitable to the opinions of many learned authors, that I cannot forbear giving it a place in this paper;

———then shall this mount
Of Paradise by might of waves be mov'd &c.

The transition which the poet makes from the vision of the deluge, to the concern it occasioned in Adam, is exquisitely graceful, and copied after Virgil, though the first thought it introduces is rather in the spirit of Ovid,

How didst thou grieve then, Adam, to behold &c.

I have been the more particular in my quotations out of the eleventh book of Paradise Lost, because it is not generally reckoned among the most shining books of this poem; for which reason the reader might be apt to overlook those many passages in it which deserve our admiration. The eleventh and twelfth are indeed built upon that single circumstance of the removal of our first parents from Paradise; but though this is not in itself so great a subject as that in most of the foregoing

books, it is extended and diversified with so many surprising incidents and pleasing episodes, that these two last books can by no means be looked upon as unequal parts of this divine poem. I must further add, that had not Milton represented our first parents as driven out of Paradise, his fall of man would not have been complete, and consequently his action would have been imperfect. *Addison.*

770. *Let no man seek* &c.] This monition was not impertinent at a time when the folly of casting nativities was still in use. *Warburton.*

798. *Shall with their freedom lost all virtue lose*] Milton every where shows his love of liberty, and he observes very rightly that the loss of liberty is soon followed by the loss of all virtue and religion. There are such sentiments in several parts of his prose works, as well as in Aristotle and other masters of politics.

824. ——————*all the cataracts*
Of Heav'n set open on the earth shall pour
Rain day and night; all fountains of the deep
Broke up,] Gen. vii. 11. "The same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of Heaven were opened." The *windows* of Heaven are translated the *cataracts* in the Syriac and Arabic versions, and in the Septuagint and Vulgar Latin, which Milton here follows, and *the great deep* is the vast abyss of waters contained within the bowels of the earth, and in the sea.

836. *To teach thee that God attributes to place*
No sanctity, &c.] Milton omits no opportunity of lashing what he thought superstitious. These lines may serve as one instance, and I think he plainly here alludes to the manner of consecrating churches used by Archbishop Laud. See Hume's History, vol. vi.

840.—*the dark hull on the flood,*] A ship is said to *hull* when all her sails are taken down, and she floats to and fro.
Richardson.

841. *Which now abated; for the clouds were fled,*
Driv'n by a keen north-wind,] The Scripture says only that "God made a wind to pass over the earth;" it is most probable that it was a north-wind, as that is such a drying wind: but our poet follows Ovid in this as well as several other particulars, Met. i. 328.

843. *Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd;*] This allusive comparison of the surface of the decreasing waters, wrinkled by the wind, to the wrinkles of a decaying old age, is very far fetched and extremely boyish; but the author makes us ample amends in the remaining part of this description of the abating of the flood. The circumstances of it are few, but selected with great judgment, and expressed with no less spirit and beauty. In this respect Milton greatly excels the Italians, who are generally too prolix in their descriptions, and think they have never said enough whilst any thing remains unsaid. When once enough is said to excite in the reader's mind a proper idea of what the poet is representing, whatever is added, however beautiful, serves only to teize the fancy instead of pleasing it, and rather cools than improves that glow of pleasure, which arises in the mind upon its first contemplation of any surprising scene of nature well painted out. Of this Milton was very sensible, and throughout his whole poem has scarcely ever been hurried by his imagination into any thing inconsistent with it.

Thyer.

846.—*which made their flowing shrink*] *Their*, I suppose, refers to *wave* before mentioned as a noun of multitude, of the plural number. It is not easy to account for the syntax otherwise.

847. *From standing lake to tripping ebb,*] *Tripping* from *tripudiare*, to dance, to step lightly upon the toes, a natural description of *soft-ebbing*, as vii. 300, and so it follows, "that stole with soft foot," this bold personizing is perpetually used by the Greek, and consequently by the Latin poets, who always imitate them. Hor. Epod. xvi. 47.

——montibus altis
Levis crepante lympha desilit pede. *Richardson.*

848.—*the deep, who had stop'd*
His sluices as the Heav'n his windows shut.] Gen. viii. 2. "The fountains also of the deep, and the windows of Heaven were stopped. For this and other particulars of the ark resting upon the mountains of Ararat, and of the raven, and of the dove, &c. see the same chapter.

860. *An olive leaf he brings, pacific sign:*] Sign of Peace, of God's mercy to mankind; the olive was sacred to Pallas, and borne by those that sued for peace, as being the emblem of it and plenty.

866. *Conspicuous with three listed colours gay,*] He afterwards calls it the *triple-colour'd bow*, ver. 897, and he means probably the three principal colours, red, yellow, and blue, of which the others are compounded.

884. *To whom the Arch-Angel.* &c.] The reader will easily observe how much of this speech is built upon Scripture.

Though late repenting him of man deprav'd,
Griev'd at his heart,——

"And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart:" Gen. vi. 6.

—when looking down he saw
The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh
Corrupting each their way;—

"The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth:" ver. 11, 12.

Such grace shall one just man find in his sight,

"But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord," ver. 8.

And makes a covenant never to destroy
The earth again by flood,———

"And I will establish my covenant with you, neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood, neither shall there be any more a flood to destroy the earth:" Gen. ix. 11.

————but when he brings
Over the earth a cloud will therein set
His triple-colour'd bow, whereon to look,
And call to mind his covenant:

"And it shall come to pass when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud: and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth:" ver. 14. 16.

———day and night
Seed-time and harvest, heat and hoary frost
Shall hold their course,———

"While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter and day and night shall not cease:" Gen. viii. 22.

—till fire purge all things new,
Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell.

"The Heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat: nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for a new Heaven and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." 2. Pet. iii. 12, 13.

BOOK XII.

1. *As one* &c.] IN the first edition, before the last book was divided into two, the narration went on without any interruption; but upon that division in the second edition, these first five lines were inserted.

11. *Henceforth, what is to come I will relate,*] Milton, after having represented in vision the history of mankind to the first great period of nature, dispatches the remaining part of it in narration. He has devised a very handsome reason for the Angel's proceeding with Adam after this manner; though doubtless the true reason was the difficulty which the poet would have found to have shadowed out so mixed and complicated a story in visible objects. I could wish, however, that the author had done it, whatever pains it might have cost him. To give my opinion freely, I think that the exhibiting part of the history of mankind in vision, and part in narrative, is as if an history-painter should put in colours one half of his subject, and write down the remaining part of it. If Milton's poem flags any where, it is in this narration, where in some places the author has been so attentive to his divinity, that he has neglected his poetry. The narration, however, rises very happily on several occasions, where the subject is capable of poetical ornaments, as particularly in the confusion which he describes among the builders of Babel, and in his short sketch of the plagues of Egypt. *Addison.*

Mr. Addison observes, that *if Milton's poem flags any where, it is in this narration*; and to be sure, if we have an eye only to poetic decoration, his remark is just; but if we view it in another light, and consider in how short a compass he has comprised, and with what strength and clearness he has expressed the various actings of God towards mankind, and the most sublime and deep truths both of the Jewish and Christian

theology, it must excite no less admiration in the mind of an attentive reader, than the more sprightly scenes of love and innocence in Eden, or the more turbulent ones of angelic war in Heaven. This contrivance of Milton's to introduce into his poem so many things posterior to the time of action fixed in his first plan, by a visionary prophetic relation of them, is, it must be allowed, common with our author, to Virgil and most epic poets since his time; but there is one thing to be observed singular in our English poet, which is, that whereas they have all done it principally, if not wholly, to have an opportunity of complimenting their own country and friends, he has not the least mention of, or friendly allusion to his. The Reformation of our church from the errors and tyranny of popery, which corruptions he so well describes and pathetically laments, afforded him occasion fair enough, and no doubt his not doing it must be imputed to his mind's being so unhappily imbittered, at the time of his writing, against our government both in church and state; so that to the other mischiefs flowing from the grand rebellion we may add this of its depriving Britain of the best panegyric it is ever likely to have. *Thyer.*

16. *With some regard to what is just and right*] This answers to the silver age of the poets, the Paradisiacal state is the golden one. That of iron begins soon, ver. 24. *Richardson.*

24. ——*till one shall rise* &c.] It is generally agreed that the first governments in the world were patriarchal, *by families and tribes*, and that Nimrod was the first who laid the foundations of kingly government among mankind. Our author therefore (who was no friend to kingly government at the best) represents him in a very bad light, as a most wicked and insolent tyrant, but he has great authorities, both Jewish and Christian, to justify him for so doing. The Scripture says of Nimrod, Gen. x. 9, "that he was a mighty hunter before the Lord:" And this our author understands in the worst sense, of hunting men and not beasts——"and men, not beasts, shall be his game." But several commentators understand it in the same manner, and the Scripture applies the word to hunting of men by persecution, oppression, and tyranny. Jer. xvi. 16. Lam. iv. 18; Ezek. xiii. 18, 20. And so the Jerusalem Targum here expounds it of a "sinful hunting of the sons of men."

36. *And from rebellion shall derive his name,*] The name of

Nimrod, though more favourable etymologies are given, yet commonly is derived from the Hebrew word *marad*, which signifies to *rebel*; and this probably was the principal occasion of those injurious reports which have prevailed in the world concerning him.

Though of rebellion others be accuse

This was addded by our author, probably not without a view to his own time, when himself and those of his own party were stigmatized as the worst of rebels.

40. *Marching from Eden towards the west*, &c.] Gen. xi. 2, &c. "And it came to pass as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar——And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar. And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto Heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." The Hebrew *chemar*, which we translate *slime*, is what the Greeks call *asphaltus* and the Latins *bitumen*, a kind of pitch; and that it abounded very much in the plain near Babylon, that it swam upon the waters, that there was a cave and fountain continually emitting it, and that this famous tower at this time, and the no less famous walls of Babylon afterwards were built with this kind of cement, is confirmed by the testimony of several prophane authors. This *black bituminous gurge*, this pitchy pool the poet calls *the mouth of Hell*, not strictly speaking, but by the same sort of figure by which the ancient poets call Tænarus or Avernus the jaws and gate of Hell.

Tænarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis. Virg. Georg, iv. 467.

53.——*a various spi'rit*] 2 Chron. xviii. 22. It is said the Lord had put *a lying spirit* in the mouth of the prophets; here he puts a *various spirit* in the mouth of these builders, a spirit varying the sounds by which they would express their thoughts one to another, and bringing consequently *confusion*, whence the work is so called. *Richardson.*

62.——*and the work Confusion nam'd.*] For *Babel* in Hebrew signifies *Confusion*. "Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the Earth." Gen. xi. 9.

71.——*human left from human free.*] Every reader must be

pleased with the spirit of liberty that breathes in the speech of our first ancestor.

84.——*which always with right reason dwells*
Twinn'd,] Some editions read *Twin'd*, and Mr. Hume explains it *twisted together with upright reason*; but in Milton's own editions it is printed *Twinn'd*, and I presume he means twinn'd at a birth with right reason. Liberty and virtue (*which is reason*, ver. 98) are *twin-sisters*, and the one hath no being divided from the other.

109.——*resolving from thenceforth*
To leave them &c.] And the Angel leaves them in like manner, and confines his narration henceforward to the *one peculiar nation* of the race of Abraham, from whence the Messiah was to descend.

114. *Him on this side Euphrates yet residing,*] That is not *yet*, when Michael was speaking; but *yet* when God resolved to *select one peculiar nation* from all the rest.

115. *Bred up in idol-worship*;] We read in Joshua xxiv. 2. "Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor, and they served other Gods." Now as Terah, Abraham's father, was an idolater, I think we may be certain that Abraham was bred up in the religion of his father, though he renounced it afterwards, and in all probability converted his father likewise, for Terah removed with Abraham to Haran, and there died. See Gen. xi. 31, 32.

126.——————*he strait obeys,*
Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes:] According to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, xi. 8.

128. *I see him but thou canst not,* &c.] As the principal design of this episode was to give Adam an idea of the holy Person who was to re-instate human nature in that happiness and perfection from which it had fallen, the poet confines himself to the line of Abraham, from whence the Messiah was to descend. *Addison.*

Our poet, sensible that this long historical description might grow irksome, has varied the manner of representing it as much as possible, beginning first with supposing Adam to have a prospect of it before his eyes, next by making the Angel the relator of it, and lastly by uniting the two former methods, and

making Michael see it as in vision, and giving a rapturous enlivened account of it to Adam.

130. *Ur of Chaldæa,*] Gen. xi. 31. "And they went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan." *Chaldæa,* a province of Asia, lying east of the Euphrates and west of the Tigris. *Ur,* a city of Chaldæa, the country of Terah and Abraham. The word *Ur* in Hebrew signifies *light* or *fire*; and this name was given to the city, because the sun and its symbol fire were worshipped therein.

132.—*and numerous servitude*;] Many servants; the abstract for the concrete.

133. *Not wand'ring poor, but trusting all his wealth*] For Abraham took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran: and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan, and into the land of Canaan they came." Gen. xii. 5.

135.——————*I see his tents*
Pitch'd about Sechem, and the neighb'ring plain
Of Moreh;—] Gen. xii 6. "And Abraham passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh." Sichem or Sechem, or Sychar (for it had all these names) was a town of the province of Samaria.

139. *From Hameth northward* &c.] As so much is said of the promised land, the poet very properly gives us the bounds of it. *Hamath* was a city of Syria, and *the entering into Hamath,* so frequently mentioned in Scripture, is the narrow pass leading from the land of Canaan to Syria, through the valley which lies between Libanus and Antilibanus.

140. *Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd*] As Virgil's vision in the sixth Æneid probably gave Milton the hint of this whole episode, this line is a translation of that verse, wherein Anchises mentions the names of places, which they were to bear hereafter, ver. 776.

Hæc tum nomine erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terræ.
Addison.

147. *This ponder,*] As if he had said, I mention other things for your information, but this you should particularly remember, and meditate upon.

181.—*thunder mix'd with hail,* &c.] The storm of hail and fire, with the darkness that overspread the land for three days,

are described with great strength. The beautiful passage which follows, is raised upon noble hints in Scripture:

————Thus with ten wounds
The river-dragon tam'd at length submits &c.

The *river-dragon* is an allusion to the crocodile, which inhabits the Nile, from whence Egypt derives her plenty. This allusion is taken from that sublime passage in Ezekiel, xxix. 3. "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against thee, Pharoah king of Egypt, the great dragon which lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself."

193.————————*as ice*
More harden'd after thaw,] For ice warmed gently into a thaw, is made more receptive of those saline and nitrous particles, which fill the freezing air, and insinuating themselves into the water already weakened, are the cause of a harder concretion.
Stiriaque impexis induruit horrida barbis. Vir. Geor. iii. 366.
Isicles freeze, as they drop, into a wonderful hardness.

210. *And craze their chariot wheels:*] Bruise or break them in pieces. *Craze*, from the French *ecraser* to bruize or break. So i. 311, the chariot wheels are said to have been *broken*, though Exod. xiv. 25, it is only said they were *taken off*, so that the chariots were *driven heavily*. Milton, who perfectly understood the original, has therefore expounded this *taking off* to be *breaking*; though that may mean no more, than what we do when we say such a one is *crazy*, broken with age and disabled *Richardson*.

216.————*not the readiest way*, &c.] It is remarkable, that here Milton omits the moral cause (though he gives the poetical) of the Israelites wandering forty years in the wilderness, and this was their poltroon mutiny on the return of the spies. He omitted this with judgment, for this last speech of the Angel was to give such a representation of things, as might convey comfort to Adam: otherwise the story of the brazen serpent would have afforded noble imagery. *Warburton*.

227.—*whose grey top*] An usual epithet of mountains, because the snow lies longer there than in the vallies, and upon some of their lofty brows all the year long.
——Gelidus *canis* cum montibus humor
Liquitur. Virg. Georg. i. 43. *Hume*.

But this epithet was more proper and peculiar to Sinai at that time, as it was covered with *clouds* and *smoke*. See Exod. xix.

230, &c. 245.] By these passages Milton seems to have understood no more of the Jewish institution than he saw in the small Presbyterian systems; otherwise the true idea of the theocracy would have afforded some noble observations. *Warburton.*

Milton speaks of the civil and the ritual, that is, the judicial and the ceremonial precepts delivered to the Jews; but why did he omit the moral law contained in the ten commandments? Possibly his reason might be, because this was supposed to be written originally in the heart of Man, and therefore Adam must have been perfectly acquainted with it: but however I think, this should have been particularly mentioned, as it was published at this time in the most solemn manner by God from mount Sinai; and as it was thought worthy to be written with his own finger upon two tables of stone, when the rest were conveyed to the people by the writing and preaching of Moses, as a mediator between God and them. *Greenwood.*

258. *Save when they journey,*] "Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward in all their journeys. But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not, till the day that it was taken up. For the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel throughout all their journies. Exod. xl. 34.

270. *Here Adam interpos'd.*] These interpositions of Adam have a very good effect; for otherwise the continued narration of the Angel would appear too long and tedious.

274. *Mine eyes true opening,*] For that was a false promise which the serpent had made. Gen. iii. 5. "Your eyes shall be open'd, &c."

277. *His day,*] An allusion to that of our Saviour, John viii. 56. "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad.

307. *And therefore shall not Moses,* &c.] Moses died in mount Nebo, in the land of Moab, from whence he had the

prospect of the promised land, but not the honour of leading the Israelites in to possess it, which was reserved for Joshua. Deut. xxxiv.

311. *His name and office bearing*,] Joshua was in many things a type of Jesus; and the names are the same, Joshua according to the Hebrew, and Jesus in Greek. The Seventy always render Joshua by Jesus, and there are two passages in the New Testament where Jesus is used for Joshua, once by St. Stephen, Acts vii. 45. "The tabernacle which our fathers brought in with Jesus, *that is with Joshua*, into the possession of the Gentiles;" and again by St Paul, Heb. iv. 8. "If Jesus, *that is if Joshua*, had given them rest, then would he not afterwards have spoken of another day." And the name Joshua or Jesus signifies a Saviour.

355.—*their strife pollution brings*
Upon the temple itself: &c.] For it was chiefly through the contests between Jason and Menelaus, high priest of the Jews, that the temple was polluted by Antiocus Epephanes. See 2 Maccabees. v. and Prideaux. *At last they seize the sceptre*, Aristobolus, eldest son of Hyrcanus, high priest of the Jews, was the first who assumed the title of king after the Babylonish captivity; before Christ 107. *And regard not David's sons*, none of that family having had the government since Zerubbabel. *Then lose it to a stranger*, to Herod who was an Idumean, in whose reign Christ was born. See Josephus and Prideaux.

370.——————*and bounds his reign*
With earth's wide bounds, his glory with the Heav'ns.] Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris. Virg. Æn. i. 287.

394.——————*his works*
In thee and in thy seed:] 1 John iii. 8. "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil."

400. *And due to theirs which out of thine will grow*;] Punishment is due to men's actual transgressions, though the original depravity, the transgression of Adam, was the root of them. *Richardson.*

413. *A shameful and accurs'd*,] "For it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." Gal. iii. 13; Deut. xxi. 23.

415. *But to the cross he nails thy enemies,*] The enemies of Adam were the *law that was against him* and the *sins of all mankind* as springing originally from him, and therefore in some sense chargeable upon him. The author in this passage alludes to Col. ii. 14. "Blotting out the hand writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross."

424. *Thy ransom paid.*] The two first editions have *Thy* (the latter ones *The*): and Milton's word may be defended, if we suppose that Adam is here spoken of not as a single person, but as one in whose loins all mankind was contained, or as one who was representative of the whole human species. And so the poet speaks again in 427.

——this God-like act
Annuls *thy* doom, &c. *Pearce.*

432. *And fix far deeper in his head their stings*
Than temp'ral death shall bruise the victor's heel,] Before we come to a conclusion, it may be proper to remark here once for all, that Milton makes no distinction between *then* and *than*, but spells both alike *then*, which must necessarily occasion some obscurity and confusion. *Their* too he commonly writes *thir*, but this greatly offends the eye, we are so much habituated to the other; and at the same time he frequently uses *theirs*, and there seems to be no reason why the one should be written differently from the other. It is hoped therefore that these things have been altered for the better.

457.——————*exalted high*
Above all names in Heav'n;] Phil. ii. 9.

469. *O goodness infinite, goodness immense!* &c.] The poet has very finely represented the joy and gladness of heart, which rises in Adam upon his discovery of the Messiah. As he sees his day at a distance through types and shadows, he rejoices in it; but when he finds the redemption of man completed, and Paradise again renewed, he breaks forth in rapture and transport. I have hinted before, that an heroic poem, according to the opinion of the best critics, ought to end happily, and leave the mind of the reader, after having conducted it through many doubts, fears, sorrows and disquietudes, in a state of tranquility and satisfaction. Milton's fable, which had so many other qualifications to recommend it, was deficient in this particular. It

is here, therefore, that the poet has shewn a most exquisite judgment, as well as the finest invention, by finding out a method to supply this natural defect in his subject. Accordingly he leaves the adversary of mankind, in the last view which he gives us of him, under the lowest state of mortification and disappointment. We see him chewing ashes, groveling in the dust, and loaden with supernumerary pains and torments. On the contrary our two first parents are comforted by dreams and visions, cheared with promises of salvation, and in a manner raised to a greater happiness, than that which they had forfeited: In short, Satan is represented miserable in the heighth of his triumphs, and Adam triumphant in the heighth of misery. *Addison.*

487. *The promise of the Father,*] Luke xxiv. 49.

490. *To guide them in all truth,*] John xvi. 13. "When Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth"

490. ——— ——— *and also arm*
With spiritual armour, able to resist
Satan's assaults, and quench his fiery darts,] Alluding to Eph. vi. 11, &c. "Put on the whole armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil——wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked."

507.—*but in their room, as they forewarn,*
Wolves shall succeed &c]. So St. Paul had forewarned the elders of the church at Meletus, to which the author here alludes, Acts xx. 29. "For I knew this, that after my departure shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock." See too his *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Christian Church.* Vol. i. p. 563. edit. 1738. Not long after, as the Apostle foretold, hirelings like wolves came in by herds, *&c.*

514. *Though not but by the Spirit understood.*] I do not think Milton in all his writings ever gave a stronger proof of his enthusiastical spirit than in this line. *Warburton.*

I suppose he alluded to 1 Cor. ii. 14. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."

522. ——— *laws which none shall find* &c.] Laws neither agreeable to revealed or natural religion, neither to be found in

holy Scripture, or written on their hearts by the Spirit of God, according to that divine promise, Jer. xxxi. 33. "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts."

526. *His consort liberty?*] "For where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, 2 Cor. iii. 17.

532. *On all who in the worship persevere*
Of sp'rit and truth;] He alludes to John iv. 23. "The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth."

459. *New Heav'ns, new Earth,*] The very words of St. Peter, 2 Pet. iii. 13. "Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

568. *Subverting worldly strong*, &c. 1 Cor. i. 27. "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God has chosen the weak things of the world to confound things which are mighty."

574. *To whom thus also th' last Angel reply'd.*] This is the last speech of the Angel, as the foregoing one was the last speech of Adam; and they are both introduced in the same manner. It was said before,

—"thus Adam last reply'd:"

and here it is said again,

"—thus also the Angel last reply'd."

This repetition is not below our notice.

581. ——————————*only add* &c.] See 2 Pet. i. 5, &c. "And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity." A text that the reader may have the pleasure of seeing excellently explained and illustrated in a most ingenious discourse by Mr. Warburton.

588. ——————*from this top*
Of speculation;] From this visionary heighth, from this hill of prophecy and prediction. *Speculation*, a watching on a tower or high place, thence a discovery, therefore applied to the prophets in the sacred page, who are called *seers* and *watchmen*, *speculatores*, of *specula*, Latin, a watch tower; "Son of Man I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel." Ezek. iii. 17, more exactly described chap. xxxiii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *Hume.*

So Parad. Reg. iv. 236. *This specular mount.* Richardson.

609. *And thus with words not sad she him receiv'd.*] Milton's poem ends very nobly. The last speeches of Adam and the Arch-Angel are full of moral and instructive sentiments. The sleep that fell upon Eve, and the effects it had in quieting the disorders of her mind, produce the same kind of consolation in the reader, who cannot peruse the last beautiful speech, which is ascribed to the mother of mankind, without a secret pleasure and satisfaction. The following lines which conclude the poem, rise in a most glorious blaze of poetical images and expressions. *Addison.*

611. *For God is also in sleep, and dreams advise,*] Is *also* in sleep, and admonishes by dreams as well as by visions, according to Numb. xii. 6. "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and I will speak unto him in a dream." And thus Hom. Il. i. 63.

616. *Is to stay here*; &c.] She is now come to that temper of mind, as to think it Paradise, wherever her husband is, as the Angel had taught her before, xi. 290.

Thy going is not lonely; with thee goes
Thy husband; him to follow thou art bound;
Where he abides, think there thy native soil.

So that the Author makes Woman's Paradise to be in company with her husband, but Man's to be in himself, ver. 587.

A Paradise within thee, happier far.

625.——————*for now too nigh*
The Arch-Angel stood,] Our poet observes the most delicate decorum to the last degree, making our first parents such perfect patterns of modesty, as to forbear their endearments, though but in words, at the Angel's approach. *Hume.*

629. *Gliding meteorous,*] Heliodorus in his Ethiopics acquaints us, that the motion of the Gods differs from mortals, as the former do not stir their feet, nor proceed step by step, but slide o'er the surface of the earth by an uniform swimming of the whole body. The reader may observe with how poetical a description Milton has attributed the same kind of motion to the Angels who were to take possession of Paradise. *Addison.*

637. *In either hand* &c.] The author helped his invention in the following passage, by reflecting on the behaviour of the Angel, who, in holy Writ, has the conduct of Lot and his fa

mily. The circumstances drawn from that relation are very gracefully made use of on this occasion. *Addison.*

641. *They looking back*, &c.] The scene which our first parents are surprised with, upon their looking back on Paradise, wonderfully strikes the reader's imagination, as nothing can be more natural than the tears they shed on that occasion. *Addison.*

648. *They hand in hand, with wand'ring steps and slow,*
Through Eden took their solitary way.] If I might presume to offer at the smallest alteration in this divine work, I should think the poem would end better with the foregoing passage, than with the two verses here quoted. These two verses, though they have their beauty, fall very much below the foregoing passage, and renew in the mind of the reader that anguish which was pretty well laid by that consideration.

The world was all before them where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide. *Addison.*

If I might presume, says an ingenious and celebrated writer, *to offer at the smallest alteration in this divine work*. If to make one small alteration appeared to be so *presumptuous*; what censure must I expect to incur, who have presumed to make so many? But *jacta est alea*, and *Non injussa cecini*: The gentleman would eject these two last lines of the book, and close it with the verse before. He seems to have been induced to this by a mistake of the printer, *They hand in hand*; which reading does indeed make the last distich seem loose, unconnected, and abscinded from the rest. But the author gave it *Then hand in hand*: which continues the prior sentence.

Some natural tears they dropt, but wip'd them soon;
Then hand in hand.

Nor can these two verses possibly be spared from the work; for without them Adam and Eve would be left in the territory and suburbane of Paradise, in the very view of the *dreadful faces*. They must therefore be dismissed out of Eden, to live thenceforward in some other part of the world. And yet this distich, as the gentleman well judges, *falls very much below the foregoing passage*. It contradicts the poet's own scheme; nor is the diction unexceptionable. He tells us before, That Adam, upon hearing Michael's predictions, was even *surcharged with joy*, ver. 372; was *replete with joy and wonder*, ver. 468; was in doubt, whether he should *repent of* or *rejoice*

in his fall, ver. 475; was *in great peace of thought*, ver. 558; and Eve herself *not sad* but *full of consolation*, ver. 620. Why then does this distich dismiss our first parents in anguish, and the reader in melancholy? And how can the expression be justified, *with wand'ring steps and slow?* Why *wand'ring?* Erratic steps? Very improper: when in the line before, they they were *guided by Providence.* And why *slow?* when even Eve professed her readiness and alacrity for the journey: v. 614.

———but now lead on;
In me is no delay.

And why *their solitary way?* All words to represent a sorrowful parting? when even their former walks in Paradise were as solitary, as their way now; there being no body besides them two both here and there. Shall I therefore, after so many prior presumptions, presume at last to offer a distich, as close as may be to the author's words, and entirely agreeable to his scheme?

Then hand in hand with *social* steps their way
Through Eden took, *with heav'nly comfort chear'd.* Bentley.

As the poem closes with these two verses, so Dr. Bentley finishes his labour with remarks upon them. He observes that Mr. Addison declared for ejecting them both out of the poem; and supposes him to be induced to this by a mistake of the printer *They hand in hand*: which reading (the Doctor thinks) makes the last distich seem loose, unconnected, and abscinded from the rest. But Mr. Addison was too good a judge of Milton's way of writing, to eject them upon that account only. He gave us another reason for his readiness to part with them, and said that they renew in the mind of the reader that anguish, which was pretty well laid by the consideration of the two foregoing verses. But it has been said more justly by another gentleman (who seems well qualified to give a judgment in the case) that *considering the moral and chief design of this poem, Terror is the last passion to be left upon the mind of the reader.* Essay on Pope's Odyssey, Part 2. p. 80. However this be, the Doctor's reason for keeping these two verses is extraordinary: he says that unless they are kept, Adam and Eve would be left in the territory and suburbane of Paradise, in the very view of the *dreadful faces:* and he adds that they must therefore be dismissed *out of Eden*, to live thenceforward in some other part

of the world. And yet both in the common reading, and in the Doctor's too, they are left in *Eden*, only taking their way *through* it. But this is by the by. Let us see how the Doctor would mend the matter; and then I will give my objections to his reading, and afterwards answer his objection to Milton's. He proposes to read thus,

Then hand in hand with *social* steps their way
Through Eden took, *with heav'nly comfort chear'd.*

To this reading we may object, that the verb wants the word *they* before it; for it is too far to fetch it from ver. 645, when two verses of a quite different construction are inserted between. Again, *chear'd with comfort* seems tautologous, for *comfort* is implied in *chear'd*, without its being mentioned. Lastly, if they went *hand in hand*, there is no need to tell us, that their steps were *social*; they could not be otherwise. So much for the Doctor's reading. We are now to consider the objections which the Doctor makes to the present reading. It contradicts (says he) the poet's own scheme, and the diction is not unexceptionable. With regard to the diction, he asks, Why were the steps *wand'ring* ones, when *Providence was their guide?* But it might be their *guide*, without pointing out to them which way they should take at every step: The words *Providence their guide* signify, that now since Michael, who had hitherto conducted them by the hand, was departed from them, they had no guide to their steps, only the general guidance of Providence to keep them safe and unhurt. Eve (it is is plain) expected that her steps would be *wand'ring* ones, when upon being told that she was to leave Paradise, she breaks out into these words, xi. 282.

How shall I part? and whither *wander* down
Into a lower world?

Again the Doctor asks, Why *slow* steps; when Eve professed her readiness and alacrity for the journey, ver. 614? But that readiness was not an absolute one, it was a choosing rather to go than to stay behind there without Adam, ver. 615, &c. In that view she was ready to go: but in the view of leaving the delights of Paradise, they were both backward and even *linger'd*, ver. 638. Their steps were therefore *slow*. And why (says the Doctor) is their way called *solitary*, when their walks in Paradise were as solitary as their way now, there

being no body besides them two both here and there? It may be answered, that their way was *solitary*, not in regard to any companions, whom they had met with elsewhere; but because they were here to meet with no objects of any kind that they were acquainted with: Nothing here was *familiar to their eyes*, and (as Adam, then in Paradise, well expresses it in xi. 305.)

——all places else
Inhospitable appear, and *desolate*
Nor knowing us, nor known.

(And may we not by *solitary* understand farther their being now left by the Angel?) The last, but the main objection which the Doctor makes, is, that this distich contradicts the poet's own scheme. To support this charge, he has referred us to half a dozen places of this twelfth book, where Adam and Eve are spoken of, as having *joy, peace, and consolation*, &c. and from thence he concludes that this distich ought not to dismiss our first parents in anguish, and the reader in melancholy. But the *joy, peace, and consolation* spoken of in those passages are represented always as arising in our first parents from a view of some future good, chiefly of the Messiah. The thought of leaving Paradise (notwithstanding any other comfort that they had) was all along a *sorrowful* one to them. Upon this account Eve "*fell asleep, wearied with sorrow and distress of heart*," ver. 613. Both Adam and Eve "*linger'd*" at their quitting Paradise, ver. 638, and they "*dropt some natural tears*" on that occasion, ver. 645. In this view the Arch-Angel, ver. 605, recommends to our first parents that they should live "*unanimous though sad with cause for evils past.*" And for a plainer proof that the scheme of the poem was to dismiss them not without *sorrow*; the poet in xi. 117 puts these words into God's mouth as his instruction to Michael.

So send them forth, though *sorrowing*, yet in peace. *Pearce.*

These two last verses have occasioned much trouble to the critics, some being for rejecting, others for altering, and others again for transposing them: but the propriety of the two lines, and the design of the author, are fully explained and vindicated in the excellent note of Dr. Pearce. And certainly there is no more necessity that an epic poem should conclude happily, than there is that a tragedy should conclude unhappily. There are instances of several tragedies ending happily; and with as good

reason an epic poem may terminate fortunately or unfortunately, as the nature of the subject requires: and the subject of *Paradise Lost* plainly requires something of a sorrowful parting, and was intended no doubt for terror as well as pity, to inspire us with the fear of God as well as with commiseration of Man. All therefore that we shall add is to desire the reader to observe the beauty of the numbers, the heavy dragging of the first line, which cannot be pronounced but slowly, and with several pauses,

They | hand in hand, | with wand'ring steps | and slow, |

and then the quicker flow of the last verse with only the usual pause in the middle,

Through Eden took their solitary way;

as if our parents had moved heavily at first, being loath to leave their delightful Paradise, and afterwards mended their pace, when they were at a little distance. At least this is the idea that the numbers convey; and as many volumes might be composed upon the structure of Milton's verses, and the collocation of his words, as Erythræus and other critics have written upon Virgil. We have taken notice of several beauties of this kind in the course of these remarks, and particularly of the varying of the pauses, which is the life and soul of all versification in all languages. It is this chiefly which makes Virgil's verse better than Ovid's, and Milton's superior to any other English poet's: and it is for want of this chiefly that the French heroic verse has never, and can never come up to the English. There is no variety of numbers, but the same pause is preserved exactly in the same place in every line for ten or ten thousand lines together: and such a perpetual repetition of the same pause, such an eternal sameness of verse must make any poetry tedious, and either offend the ear of the reader, or lull him asleep: and this in the opinion of several French writers themselves. There can be no good poetry without music, and there can be no music without variety.

The number of the books in Paradise Lost is equal to those of the Æneid. Our author in his first edition had divided his poem into ten books, but afterwards broke the seventh and the tenth each of them into two different books, by the help of some small additions. This second division was made with great judgment, as any one may see, who will be at the pains of examining it. It was not done for the sake of such a chimerical beauty as that of

resembling Virgil in this particular, but for the more just and regular disposition of this great work. Those who have read Bossu, and many of the critics who have written since his time, will not pardon me if I do not find out the particular moral which is inculcated in Paradise Lost. Though I can by no means think, with the last mentioned French author, that an epic writer first of all pitches upon a certain moral, as the ground-work and foundation of his poem, and afterwards finds out a story to it: I am however of opinion, that no just heroic poem ever was or can be made, from whence one great moral may not be deduced. That which reigns in Milton, is the most universal and most useful that can be imagined; it is in short this, "That obedience to the will of God, makes men happy, and that disobedience makes them miserable." This is visibly the moral of the principal fable, which turns upon Adam and Eve, who continued in Paradise, while they kept the command that was given them, and were driven out of it as soon as they had transgressed. This is likewise the moral of the principal episode, which shows us how an innumerable multitude of Angels fell from their state of bliss, and were cast into Hell upon their disobedience. Besides this great moral, which may be looked upon as the soul of the fable, there are an infinity of under morals, which are to be drawn from the several parts of the poem, and which make this work more useful and instructive than any other poem in any language. Those who have criticised on the Odyssey, the Iliad, and Æneid, have taken a great deal of pains to fix the number of months and days contained in the action of each of those poems. If any one thinks it worth his while to examine this particular in Milton, he will find that from Adam's first appearance in the fourth book, to his expulsion from Paradise in the twelfth, the author reckons ten days. As for that part of the action which is described in the three first books, as it does not pass within the regions of nature, I have before observed that it is not subject to any calculations of time.

I have now finished my observations on a work which does honour to the English nation. I have taken a general view of it under these four heads, the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language, and made each of them the subject of a particular paper. I have in the next place

spoken of the censures which our author may incur under each of these heads, which I have confined to two papers, though I might have enlarged the number, if I had been disposed to dwell on so ungrateful a subject. I believe, however, that the severest reader will not find any little fault in heroic poetry, which this author has fallen into, that does not come under one of those heads, among which I have distributed his several blemishes. After having thus treated at large of Paradise Lost, I could not think it sufficient to have celebrated this poem in the whole, without descending to particulars. I have therefore bestowed a paper upon each book, and endeavoured not only to prove that the poem is beautiful in general, but to point out its particular beauties, and to determine wherein they consist. I have endeavoured to show how some passages are beautiful by being sublime, others by being soft, others by being natural; which of them are recommended by the passion, which by the moral, which by the sentiment, and which by the expression. I have likewise endeavoured to show how the genius of the poet shines by a happy invention, a distant allusion, or a judicious imitation; how he has copied or improved Homer and Virgil, and raised his own imaginations by the use which he has made of several poetical passages in Scripture. I might have inserted also several passages of Tasso, which our author has imitated; but as I do not look upon Tasso to be a sufficient voucher, I would not perplex my reader with such quotations, as might do more honour to the Italian than the English poet. In short, I have endeavoured to particularize those innumerable kinds of beauty, which it would be tedious to recapitulate, but which are essential to poetry, and which may be met with in the works of this great author. Had I thought at my first engaging in this design, that it would have led me to so great a length, I believe I should never have entered upon it; but the kind reception which it has met with among those whose judgments I have a value for, as well as the uncommon demands which my bookseller tells me have been made for these particular discourses, gives me no reason to repent of the pains I have been at in composing them. *Addison.*

And thus have we finished our collections and remarks on this divine poem. The reader probably may have observed that these two last books fall short of the sublimity and majesty

of the rest: and so likewise do the two last books of the Iliad, and for the same reason, because the subject is of a different kind from that of the foregoing ones. The subject of these two last books of the Paradise Lost is history rather than poetry. However, we may still discover the same great genius, and there are intermixed as many ornaments and graces of poetry, as the nature of the subject, and the author's fidelity and strict attachment to the truth of Scripture history, and the reduction of so many and such various events into so narrow a compass, would admit. It is the same ocean, but not at its highest tide; it is now ebbing and retreating. It is the same sun, but not in its full blaze of meridian glory; it now shines with a gentler ray as it is setting. Throughout the whole the author appears to have been a most critical reader and a most passionate admirer of holy Scripture. He is indebted to Scripture infinitely more than to Homer and Virgil and all other books whatever. Not only his principal fable, but all his episodes are founded upon Scripture. The Scripture hath not only furnished him with the noblest hints, raised his thoughts and fired his imagination; but hath also enriched his language, given a certain solemnity and majesty to his diction, and supplied him with many of his choicest and happiest expressions. Let men therefore learn from this instance to reverence the sacred Writings. If any man can pretend to deride or despise them, it must be said of him at least, that he has a taste and genius the most different from Milton's that can be imagined. Whoever has any true taste and genius, we are confident, will esteem this poem the best of modern productions, and the Scriptures the best of all ancient ones.

THE END.

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